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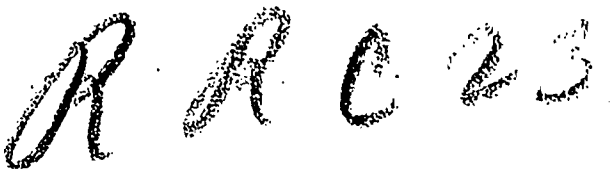

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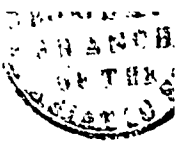
ENGLAND



UNDER

SEVEN ADMINISTRATIONS.

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BY

ALBANY FONBLANQUE, ESQ.

" Quicquid agunt homines . . .
. . . . . nostri est farrago libelli."

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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ENGLAND
UNDER SEVEN ADMINISTRATIONS.

ENGLAND
UNDER SEVEN ADMINISTRATIONS.

THE WELLINGTON MINISTRY.

(CONCLUDED.)

THE STAGE PRECEDING REPRESENTATION.

UNBOUNDED deference to public opinion is expressed by men of all political denominations: Mr Peel declares that Government throws itself upon the judgment of the people; and Mr Huskisson, on the opposite side, professes his

"Confidence in a sound and enlightened public "opinion exercising, year after year, in a higher "degree, its salutary influence, as well on the "councils of Ministers as on the proceedings of "Parliament. I think that no one who reads the "signs of the times—no one who has observed the "events of last session—no one who has observed "the events of last week, can deny the paramount "influence of popular opinion. This power may "not be directly wealth or productive industry, "but it is the shield of both—it is the safeguard "of the nation against empyricism—it is the "finger-post to guide us, in all circumstances of "difficulty and danger, to the road of safety."

According to these declarations, the corrupt House of Commons is virtually superseded, and to the people in mass that controlling power has reverted, which the theory of the Constitution supposes to be delegated to the House of Commons. Ministers openly and boastfully declare their responsibility, not to Parliament, but the country, with reference to whose judgment they shape their scheme of policy. The democracy in its rude and vague elements is thus acknowledged, and under the Administration of Wellington and Peel, we have been brought to the state which precedes a representative Government. Ministers profess to be governed by the voice of the people, but they do not pretend to hear that voice or any echo of it in the corrupt House of Commons. Where, this year, was the Parliament held, which determined the reduction of taxation? Not in St Stephen's—the liveried lackeys waiting in the corridors had as much part in the decision as their masters of the House—but in the fields, market places, and commons. The County Meetings constituted the Parliament of England—it was from them that Ministers heard the voice of the country; it was to them that they looked for the representation of the public sentiment. Placed at the helm, our pilots must trim their sails to the gale, and they know better than to look for the direction of the wind in the calm of the hold of corruption. When Ministers desire to

know the current of public opinion, they will go out of doors for the information. Public opinion is lauded for affording the checks which the House of Commons from its corruption fails to do; and why not render the legislature an organ for the distinct expression of the public opinion so highly valued in that rude and vague state, in which its judgments are most imperfectly or doubtfully taken? But no; Mr Peel and Mr Huskisson will answer, the mass of the community whose opinions on measures are of paramount authority, and entitled to all deference, are not of the same worth in the choice of men for the representative trust. In other words, the multitude are capable of the most difficult exercise of the judgment, requiring study, knowledge, and experience, and incapable of the comparatively easy estimate of an individual's fairness of character and intellectual sufficiency. This is as if, on board a ship, it should be said that the crew were incapable of choosing a captain, but, down to the cabin boys and swabbers, perfectly competent to pass judgment on the reckoning, and to direct the course. The estimate of the general qualifications of men we know to be easy, and observation will show them to be seldom very wide of the truth, while the judgment on measures often requires temper, intelligence, and attainments of the rarer kinds; yet is popular opinion thought competent to this arduous criticism, while it is declared unequal

to the election of an individual fit to direct the councils, of which it is pronounced fully capable of judging!

From the masterly "Statement of the Question of Parliamentary Reform," by Mr Grote, we extract a passage which should be graven on the public mind, as showing that the common declaration of deference to opinion should compel assent to the largest measure of Parliamentary Reform:—

"We hear from all quarters appeals to the "shelter and countenance of public opinion: "every one who recognises its jurisdiction, and "courts it as a tribunal before which roguery "and imposture are disarmed and unmasked, and "from whence a righteous verdict is sure to ema- "nate. All factions and parties, however opposite, "prefix to their manifestos a claim, real or pre- "tended, to the esteem and confidence of the "nation. The importance of submitting to public "notice and criticism all judicial and legislative "proceedings, is acknowledged without a dissen- "tient voice. Yet, what mean the words *public "opinion?* Who are the *public?* Are they not "the great body of the people, the majority of the "individuals inhabiting the country? When we "employ the terms *public interest, public opinion,* "we can refer to nothing else but this majority. "Now, Universal Suffrage and Ballot are mere "proposals for summing up in full, without the

" possibility of omissions or errata, the aggregate " opinions of the whole community. They are " the machinery for securing a precise and au- " thentic printed record of those sentiments, which " must otherwise be gathered from a manuscript " version, always scattered and incomplete, some- " times wholly illegible. They furnish a perfect " enumeration of the affirmative and negative " voices, and consequently leave no doubt as to " the ultimate result: without their aid, the verdict " is frequently equivocal, and public opinion is " confidently appealed to by two opposing parties. " They are plans which obtrude upon every one " the necessity of a decision, thus providing the " most extensive demand for skilful and correct " guides, and ensuring a diffusion of all the pre- " paratory documents, through the interest of those " who are to benefit by a just verdict: in all these " respects they are merely solemn methods of " drawing forth, interpreting, and concentrating, " the dispersed voices of the community. But is " it not strangely inconsistent to extol the opinion " of the majority, when collected under every pos- " sible disadvantage and defect—and to decry and " ridicule it, when transcribed in full, when accu- " rately computed, and demanded and delivered " with such a degree of solemnity as to ensure the " most mature deliberation of which each indi- " vidual is capable? Shall we hear it maintained,

"that the desultory buz of public opinion, the "irregular show of hands, will be in favour of "truth and reason—and that when a day is named, "and the solitary, forewarned, and considerate "judgment of each individual is computed at a "poll, this decision will be reversed."

The cogency of this argument is not to be improved by the addition of a single word, and the corollary from it is, that Mr Peel on the one side, and Mr Huskisson on the other, and every professor of submission to public opinion, wherever may be his place, and whatever his denomination, stands within a necessary deduction, bringing him either to popular Representation or to mob-Government. He is either a Reformer, or a Dunce incapable of seeing the necessary tendency of his own admissions.

It is true that a Mr Peel, entertaining a just contempt for Parliament as it is, may be disposed occasionally to consult the public wishes, and yet be averse from admitting the steady articulate expression of the popular judgment through an organ of power. The Sultan himself has regard to opinion, and collects it by the number of fires in Constantinople, as a ruler of England may reckon upon reading it in squibs and paragraphs. Consistently with the genius of a despotism, Mr Peel may bow to opinion in its adverse exasperations, and yet not care to consult or collect its judgments on

ordinary questions not of the hottest concern. He may desire to negative popular influence, though he would yield to popular storms. Like the Sultan, until the gentle hint of the fires, he may wish not to trouble himself with the common judgment, and decline the machinery of represention which would be apt to indicate the gradations of opinion, and to incommodé the self-satisfaction of a weak or hollow Minister. He may say to his creatures, with the indolence of the West Indian lady, "Put my head out of the window, that I may see whether there is a tornado coming," though he would, with nervous aversion, refuse to watch the weather glass that would mark the atmospheric changes. The existing Administration only cedes to the demands of justice when it can resist no longer without hazardous exasperation. This is boasted as deference to opinion; but it is deference to the rare paroxysms of opinion; and the same deference which is due to opinion in its passionate excitement, is due to the more sober judgment of the community. It is not surprising, however, that a Minister should be content to read opinion only in its fiery characters, and to leave the public judgment in all vagueness on ordinary questions; but it were strange, indeed, if the people themselves did not desire the opinion, whose virtue is so loudly vaunted, to have a more constant and steady operation, through the means of popular Representation.

PHRASES VERSUS ARGUMENTS.

"*Dieu deliverez-nous du malin et du langage figuré. —Sauvez-nous de la métaphore!*" we exclaim with Paul Louis Courier. Mr Fyler pronounces the Ballot *a dark Italian* method of proceeding. How perspicuous and complete is the condemnation couched in those two terms, which conjure up to the mind all the terrors of Mrs Radcliffe, and suggest mysteries of the Ballot-box as fearful as those of Udolpho. This is the fee-fa-fum style of rhetoric, of great force in Parliament and the nursery. It is in speculation what the scooped pumpkin, with a rushlight illuminating its saucer eyes, is in practical pranks upon superstitious weaknesses. We are persuaded, however, that the ingenious Mr Fyler esteemed himself an eighth wonder of the world when he hit upon that allusion, and yoked together those awful dragons of epithets. The effect on the House was appalling. Nothing was wanting but the dramatic exhibition of a dark lantern suitable to crime, and a dagger brandished à-la-Burke.

The force of Mr Fyler's objection was not lost on Sir Robert Wilson, who improved it in the picturesque by adding a cloak to the "*dark Italian.*"

"There was something," he said, "in the *muf-*
"*fling* up repulsive to the English character." It were vain to endeavour to impress on such an understanding, that the question is not one of drapery, but of the best mode of obtaining the free suffrages of the people; and for that object the prevention, to the utmost practicable degree, of the arts of corruption and intimidation, must alone be considered. Sir Robert Wilson has himself experienced the inconvenience of openly affronting authority, and he should bear in mind that poor electors have no Brookes's to make compensation for the injuries which the vengeance of power may inflict. The gallant member thinks it would be an enormous wrong to deprive his 5,000 constituents of the great glory they derive from openly voting for him, but, like a true soldier, he regards the glory to the few without reference to the cost of suffering to the many. For the renown of those five thousand of Southwark should we compound for the tyranny of the electors of Newark, and the terrorism and corruption which sway the returns of the vast majority of members! Granted too, that the example of openly electing a Sir Robert Wilson is of vast value, yet, when he looks round the House, does he recognize its effect? We put it to him frankly, whether he perceives about him so much merit of his own kind as to permit him to infer that his return by those five thousand electors of Southwark has operated in the way of example.

Either Sir Robert Wilson's merit is unique, or the system, glorified by his particular election, is only partially efficacious, and of no virtue in the vast majority of places. Farther we must observe, that with all due respect for Sir Robert Wilson, we have our doubts whether the mode of conducting elections is justified merely because it has consisted with his return. The wisdom of our ancestors has noted, that "one swallow does not make a summer," and one Wilson and one Southwark scarcely prove that poverty and dependence can defy the influences of wealth and power. But then, repeats Sir Robert, consider what a shocking practice is "*muffling up*"—not so universally objectionable, we reply, when means are considered with relation to objects. When the gallant member assisted the escape of Lavalette, he saw no disgrace in muffling him up; and we are equally insensible to the shame of assisting the escape of the electors of this country from the thraldom of Boroughmongers, by the "*muffling up*" of the Ballot. Further, argues the Member for Southwark,—

"It was a system suited to a peculiar class "of people, and to juniors in the representative "system; and an experiment to try how far a "nation was adapted to receive such a system. "We talked of the march of intellect, but this "was a retrograde march,—we were going back-"ward; and no foreigner who heard such a pro-

" position would not consider that its adoption " would be a proof of our degradation. The cir- " cumstances of France and of America were totally " different from ours; but he (Sir R. Wilson) had " conversed with North Americans, persons whose " opinions were entitled to the highest respect, who " declared that the ballot system was productive of " so many evils in their country, that they wished " it could be got rid of, and *viva voce* voting " adopted in its stead."

What a curious tissue of absurdity have we in this small space. The Ballot is a retrograde step —How?—Where is the date of independence? At what period does Sir Robert find that terror and bribery have had no influence in elections? The Ballot brings us back to what? to the time unknown when the evil biases have been excluded to the uttermost degree practicable by the devices of human ingenuity. That must be an Irish retrograde which falls back to a new condition. The Ballot may indeed carry members backward from the vulgar *éclat* of elections, but we have the consolation of knowing that it will forward the just objects. Here, however, is interposed a stupendous objection—foreigners, forsooth, will think it a proof of our degradation! In one breath we are admonished that the Ballot must be bad because it is un-English; and in another, because foreigners would account it evidence of degeneracy. The project is this moment condemned as foreign; and the

next, because foreign opinion would disapprove its adoption. Lastly, we come to what some American gentlemen have said to the speaker respecting the Ballot, a sort of evidence which is to be produced on every side on every occasion. But were the American desire for open elections clearly established, it would not prove secret voting inexpedient in England, where the dependencies of man on man are so much more close and general, and where a system, turning the opportunities of influence to electioneering purposes, has been working for ages, with all the success which the most ingeniously-studied application of ample means to mischievous objects could achieve. What Sir Robert styles the retrograde of intellect would be the breaking up of these meshes of thraldom.

Mr Whittle Harvey, who is also opposed to the Ballot, conceives that a member's oath, denying bribery, would effect the object proposed. A small portion of consideration would show, to a person of Mr Harvey's acuteness, the fallacy of this opinion. Trifling with oaths is a part of an English Gentleman's education, and the Testament is kissed with about as much thought of constancy as the chamber-maid. Youths at the Universities swear without even caring to inquire to what observances they have bound themselves; and there is to be observed, wherever the opportunity offers, a preparation of habit for treating an oath as a mere ceremony. In the Custom-house, too, we

may see of what force is an oath opposed to interest. We do not mean to say that Members of Parliament would, point-blank, perjure themselves; but, from the moment an oath was framed denying bribery, modes of evasion would be contrived.

GEORGE IV.

THE historians of the day have not failed to record, that on Saturday the 26th of June the people of this great city were plunged into profound affliction by the decease of George IV. Shutters before the shop-windows denoted the extremity of the national grief. Persons appeared to comport themselves much as usual, and to the windows of the shops, not to the windows of the soul, was left the expression of the deepest sorrow. The bereavement was mourned by wooden representatives of sadness. Considering the newspaper accounts of the state of the popular sentiment, the manner in which the public commanded its feelings, and repressed any signs of murmuring at the decree of Providence, is especially worthy of admiration.

Sir Robert Peel alone allowed his grief to riot against the duty of Christian submission; and in his bulletin to the Lord Mayor, he describes the pleasure of Providence as painful to Peel, and regrets that the divine will released the patient from his sufferings. Such is the arrogance of the Secretary's mind, that it would differently order the dispensations of Heaven, and set its wishes against the releasing mercy. In this age of piety and the Bishop of London, the bulletin is a curiosity:—

"My Lord,—It is my *painful* duty to inform "your Lordship, that it has *pleased* Almighty God "*to relieve the King from his sufferings.*"

Providence had one pleasure, Sir Robert Peel another. The Home-office would obviously have ordered matters differently, but alas! it has power only over the breath of criminals, and can continue in their earthly sufferings malefactors only. Benefactors come within another province, ruling with an unerring wisdom, but dissatisfying loyal Secretaries of State.

The life of George IV. has been spread before the public at ample length by our contemporaries; and when we glance over its circumstances, we are at a loss to trace the ground for the praise which has been accorded to its tenor. In his youth he was libertine and profuse; and from his mature age, he showed a preference for persons possessed of no qualities entitling them to consideration or respect.

They have been distinguished by the King's favour, and nothing else—quacks, serviles, sycophants, and buffoons. The maxim, *nosciter a sociis*, would be a severe test of the late King's character. Where occasions for magnanimity have offered, George IV. has been found wanting. His persecution of his Queen was at once mean and cruel; and his conduct towards Napoleon Bonaparte, however justifiable in policy, was not very exalted in sentiment. In smaller instances he indicated similar pettiness of hostility; Sir Robert Wilson and Mr Denman may be named in point. His friendships, as we have observed, had not for their objects the most worthy or respectable characters; but such as they were, there was no deficiency of warmth in them while they lasted, and George IV. was capable even of generous sacrifices for those in whom he felt an interest. But he obeyed no higher springs of action than emotion. In the personal character of the late King there is little to praise and much to condemn; and as for the public events of his reign, for which honour is demanded for him, while in ignorance of his part in the accomplishment of them, we know not how to concur in the praise. We must distinguish between the fly on the chariot and the causes of its course. The fault of Napoleon's expedition to Russia was the fortune of England, and it was no greatness in the Regent that gave him the advantage of his enemy's running his head against the wall. Domestic improvement

is to be dated from the suicide of Lord Londonderry, but George the Fourth had no part in the deed. Before we give luxurious kings the glory of successes which are brought about under their reigns, we should, for consistency, accord them divine honours, and suppose them to have directed the secondary causes and circumstances which have part in great events.

The mildness of his late Majesty's reign is much commended, and the circumstance of his not having exercised, or expressed any wish to exercise, the prerogative of the Crown, except for the relief and advantage of his people. This praise also is rather to be placed to the account of the character of the times than that of the Sovereign. We do not mean to deny that the temper of George IV. may have been mild and indulgent; but, had he been as wilfully disposed as the worst of the Stuarts, the spirit of the age would have confined his despotic mood to a harmless inactivity.

George the Fourth is praised for the settlement of the Catholic question, with about as much justice as he is praised for other happy events; but it is notorious that he resisted it as strenuously as consisted with his own personal ease, and after his consent to the measure was reluctanly granted, he endeavoured to thwart his Ministers, and encouraged intrigues against their success. Exasperated by this conduct, the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues tendered their resignations, and

the King was obliged to submit, and thenceforth to keep better faith with his advisers. We mention this anecdote in point of the praised fidelity to engagements. The *Times* says the late King will be accounted an honourable Prince. Let us observe what consists with the character of an honourable Prince, according to the representation of the *Times*.

INCONSIDERATE PRODIGALITY.

"Let the cause, however, have been what it "may, the Prince of Wales soon acquired, if not "an appetite for wasting money, an habit of pro- "digality the most reckless, unceasing, and un- "bounded; nor has the country ceased to feel, to "this hour, the effects of an indifference to the "sufferings of others, little creditable in him who "so frequently aggravated or produced them."

EVIL ASSOCIATIONS, AND INITIATION IN ALL VICES.

"It might sound sarcastic or ironical to pretend "that the associates of George IV. were selected "by that Prince, from a manly confidence in his "own capacity for repelling vice, and resisting the "temptations of the profligate.

"George IV. may, indeed, have felt that con- "fidence; but rugged must have been the virtue "which could have justified such perpetual ex- "posure. We do not wish to press hard upon "the weaknesses of human nature, nor insist on it

" as an argument so much of anger as of sorrow,
" that the late King, before his twentieth year,
" was supposed to have been initiated in all the
" vices by which an advanced, and affluent, and
" corrupt society is infested."

ENCOURAGEMENT OF IMMORALITY.

" Not one, but a series of licentious favourites
" are understood to have presided over the Royal
" Household of George IV., and to have affixed
" upon his Court a character the reverse of that
" by which his father's reign was distinguished.
" The divorced of both sexes, and of all ages, were
" not afraid of meeting a suitable reception from
" congenial spirits near the British throne.

" It is a ground of something deeper than regret,
" that the gentle and noble families of England
" should have no access to the Sovereign, or to the
" females of the Royal House, but through the
" den of Circe. It is shocking that foul examples
" should emanate from so high a source—that the
" very name of modesty should be so obliterated
" from the walls of that edifice whose lord is the
" '*fountain of honour*,' for all Englishmen and
" their children. But let us hope for better
" things."

THE "HONOURABLE PRINCE" TO HIS WIFE.

" Her reception in her husband's house was a
" stain to manhood. A fashionable strumpet

" usurped the apartments of the Princess — her " rights—the honours due to her,—every thing but " the name she bore, and the bonds which galled " and disgraced her. The Master of the mansion " felt not his own dignity insulted, when the half- " drunken menials made their Royal Mistress the " subject of gross ribaldry or spiteful abuse! She " complained to her parent: her letters were in- " tercepted and the seals violated; the offence of " her misery was unmercifully punished. She be- " came a wanderer over the earth;—she sought, " after many years, a home in England, the birth- " place, and once the expected kingdom of her " only child. Unsated malice, vengeance, perjury, " and persecution followed her; she grappled with " —strangled them—and bravely perished. The " heroine has now at least nothing to fear from " her destroyer. She has the sympathy of one " who yet survives,—who in honour, and in the " face of God and man, had anticipated her title, " and superseded her pretensions, even before they " were promulgated. But that was not a reproach " to the Princess of Wales, whom the law of " England recognized."

THE HONOURABLE PRINCE TO MRS FITZHERBERT.

" She knew not the affecting history of Mrs " Fitzherbert. Mr Fox, who had spent his life in " England, knew it not: on the contrary, he " pledged his honour that the tale had no founda-

"tion. He declared before Parliament, that no "marriage had ever taken place between the "Prince of Wales and Mrs Fitzherbert; and he "proved the negative by a letter from the Prince "himself. But who could attest the truth of the "Prince's letter? We close this painful subject "by observing, that Mr Fox never afterwards for-"gave the falsehood which had duped him; nor "could the Royal person in question prevail upon "himself to forgive Mr Fox *for having so much* "*to pardon.*"

We quote these representations merely as examples of what consists with the character of an honourable Prince. Without disputing the application of the term, we add the features of conduct which may serve to define it.

On the whole, without any disposition to a severe judgment, we are inclined to think that the description of Voltaire is not very widely inapplicable to George IV.

"Un homme voluptueux, qui ne cherche qu'à "faire grande chère et qui croit que Dieu l'à mis "au monde pour tenir table."

BOURBON CLAIMS TO RESPECT.

Sir Walter Scott has addressed a letter to the people of Edinburgh admonishing them to be mindful of the honour Charles the Tenth has conferred on their city in selecting it for his residence, and to be civil and respectful in consideration of the Prince's altered fortune, the smallness of his court, and the greyness of his hair. He declares the Ex-king has done nothing to forfeit the "*good will*" of Scotchmen, who must if so regard as matters of indifference an ardent lust for tyranny, and the slaughter of many hundreds of gallant people. Whatever may have been his *errors* towards his own subjects, adds Sir Walter, he sent a princely benefaction to certain sufferers in Edinburgh, and was attentive to individuals connected with the city, and entitled to respect. "But," continues the Baronet, "*he never did or could* "*display a more flattering confidence* than when he "shows that the recollections of his former asylum "here have inclined him a second time to return "to the place where he formerly found refuge." That is to say, when he shows his opinion that the Scotch will find nothing in his faithlessness and

sanguinary excesses to forfeit the "good will" they formerly bore towards him.

How large is the charity for princes, how liberal the allowance for their little errors in throat-cutting, and how tender the sympathy with their distresses, the greatest of which is the sad privation of the power of mischief. Had Charles succeeded against the people, what would have been the fate of the Patriots who resisted his royal will? What would have been the pleadings of the Duchess of Angouleme for whose feelings Sir Walter claims a special regard? Would she or any partizan of the Burbon throne have talked of the *errors* and misguidance of their enemies, or would any words have been in their mouths but words of the axe and the block, and the rigour of justice?

We know they have been merciless; we know they would be merciless again. The indulgence to error they claim in their misfortunes they never extended in their days of power. They have had the mercy from their enemies they would never have granted, and the charity that has spread the mantle over their fall, they would have endeavoured by every art to deny to any of the brave men who in the event of a different result had sunk under the triumph of despotism. Respect for these royal criminals is but respect for fallen vice. Freedom from insult is all they have a moral right to claim, and that immunity they should have, as the expression of

insult would be unworthy of those who have the just sense of their deserts.

Sir Walter remarks that the ex-King remains the most striking emblem of the mutability of human affairs, which our mutable times have afforded. The assertion is not accurate, as we suppose the instance of Napoleon will be admitted to be a stronger example, and Napoleon's treatment was somewhat severer than that of Charles, as certainly his offences were on a larger scale.

But how the examples of mutability are altered in type. The Belisarius of modern times quarrels about the quantity of fish and flesh at his table, and grieves upon short allowance of claret; and a King cast from his throne falls to the luxuries of a Lulworth or the state of Holyrood, rattles miserably about the country in a barouche and four, and experiences destitution in the services of ten times more persons than mortal man can require the aid of.

But yet it is a sad thing to be crossed in despotism, and it is the disappointment of tyranny for which we really are required to compassionate Charles.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S PROSECUTION OF THE "MORNING JOURNAL."

THE Duke of Wellington has performed one of the master strokes of the strategic art—he has surprised his enemies, ay, and his friends too. With the paper-cutter of the Law in his martial hand, he has taken the field against the *Morning Journal*, and made a jury-box the key of his position in the world's esteem. The Court of King's Bench is his field of Waterloo, a rule of Court his truncheon, a Proprietor of copy-right his Napoleon; Law Officers are his soldiers, blatant lungs his loud artillery, costs his charges, and for hollow squares of men he has the vast hollowness of the Attorney-General. The Conqueror, the Emancipator, the all-powerful Minister, the boasted man of iron, the great insensible, is—*heu gloria!*—reduced to give battle to a newspaper! Oh Cervantes, thy *Quixote* is fast becoming a common-place—windmills *are* giants to be encountered with lances, and wine-skins must be quelled with swords. How can a Minister vindicate the Dulcinea of his fame, but by giving battle to all who question its peerless lustre? The Duke dons the wig for the

helmit of Mambrino, and enters the King's Bench lists.

Is he possessed of a devil? We hope not; but we know him to be possessed of a devil of an Attorney-General. The case is, in our opinion, one of delirium from Scarletina. Has not his Grace the wit to see how that disease in their system is bringing them, one after another, to the blush?

We declare, with all earnestness, that the wantonness of this prosecution has filled us with amazement. It is a volunteered confession of sensitive weakness and spontaneous bidding for contempt, which is absolutely incomprehensible, if we exclude the supposition of the working of an evil spirit. The first reflection, indeed, on the matter is, "Some enemy hath done this." The nature of the folly is discordant with all that is known of the character of the Duke of Wellington. A disregard for opinion, amounting to contempt, has been accounted among his distinguishing peculiarities. He has been considered a callosity, and now he is exposing himself as a sore. He was esteemed a cast-iron Statesman, and suddenly he proclaims "Touch me not, I am potter's clay." This may be hypochondria, or it may be Scarlett, for surely it cannot be intended to countenance the measures of Prince Polignac, and to persecute the Press with a view to preserving conformity of councils. The coincidence is, at least, curious.

We are utterly at a loss, indeed, to trace or imagine any fair motive and plausible cause for the prosecution of the *Morning Journal.* The sense of injury should precede the desire for vengeance,* and it is scarcely possible to suppose that the Duke can have conceived his character to be injured by the representations of the paper in question.

We are not going out of our way to say an incivility, when we observe, that the *Morning Journal* deprived its representations of authority by the plea it set up in answer to the charge of libel on the Lord Chancellor. By that defence it emasculated itself of the power of harming. If it really shot so wide of its mark in that instance, how could the world rely on the accuracy of its aim in any other? and if it did not intend an effect different from that produced, the solemn insincerity of the denied application would necessarily destroy its credit. If our contemporary did not mean to apply the dialogue from Sterne, with its accompanying hints, to Lord Lyndhurst, it must be difficult for his readers to understand matter of crimination put forth in his columns. The error in the one apprehension may be the error in any other.

In justice to the morality of the *Morning Jour-*

* We beg it to be observed, that we deny the fitness of prosecution for any libel on public character, but we purposely waive the position here; and supposing there were cases warranting such proceedings, we maintain that this does not come within the description.

nal, we must add, that from the habit of figurative writing, it does often appear to refer to things which only exist in metaphorical rhapsody. It pieces on the world of imagination to the world of reality, and ranges from the one to the other more abruptly than is the general custom of men of this earth. We note the flightiness in its modes of speech. During the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, the Editors sat, *in print*, with their swords girded to their sides. And a few days ago, in the paper, announcing the prosecution, or persecution, the writer, referring to his past forbearing conduct towards the Duke of Wellington, says, "His fame, tainted as it has lately been, has never-"theless been as dear to us as our household gods." It is possible that an *o* has dropped out of the last word, and that this proposition, which appears sublime, but heathenish, may have been, in truth, of a very moderate homeliness of expression, and only raised to classical grandeur by the inadvertence of the printer. And here we should pause to consider the dangerously-nice properties of that letter *o*, which is nought in arithmetic and everything in poetry; but the subject is of a magnitude for a book. Marmontel's most inconvenient enmity was referable to his omitting an *o* in a quotation—"*Pourquoi*," said his anxious but angry friend, Madame Geoffrin, "Mais, pourquoi oter son *o*?" We suspect, however, that in this instance, as in some others of the restoration of ciphers, our restoring the *o* would

prove, instead of emendation, a derangement of the text. Our truly Protestant contemporary too probably wrote, that the Duke's fame had been as dear to him as his household Gods, though we, in one sense, should have preferred Goods. For goods are dear to us in respect of what they have cost us, which is also the case with regard to the Duke's fame, purchased at an expense of much blood and treasure. In the other sense, we should decline the adoption of the position, for when we consider our household goods, we find that the breaking of a cracked saucer would concern us more closely than all the clatter the *Morning Journal* is making with the Duke's fame. Fames which, as the phrase goes, "are here to-day and gone to-morrow," are not much worth regarding, and public characters of so fugitive a sort are of less value than private crockery. Accuracy of representation should be more observed. We are a people sorely beset with figures, and our sense is swallowed up in metaphor. Satan must be a very fine speaker, and eminently fit to lead the House of Commons, or to write for an eloquent Print. An Editor charged with libelling the Duke of Wellington, urges that his fame has been as dear to him as his household Gods—what a painful ambiguity is here? Has one thing been rated by another non-existent? Or do the Editors of the *Morning Journal* rejoice in household Gods, and if so, in what degree of

honour or regard are they held? If not, how dear was the Duke's fame? How great is the folly of prosecuting a Paper like the *Morning Journal*, which, seduced by its eloquence, says more in almost every sentence than any creature, whose opinion is worth a rush, can suppose it means. We have quoted a specimen in brief of its flighty extravagance. Nothing can be more absurd than an insinuation of the Minister's having a design on the Crown, except the proceeding of prosecuting for it. By throwing out such idle notions, a writer is only likely to risk his own character for sanity. After the Duke had grasped the moon, and basely and feloniously set it up in Apsley House as a hall lamp, the law advisers of his Grace might prudently have recommended him to prosecute for the insinuation of designs on the Throne. The *Journal* still declares the Premier to be capable *of doing anything*, reserving the overturning of the Crown as an impossibility; and in proof of the capability for anything, it mentions that he aimed a *murderous* pistol at Lord Winchilsea, and that the ball passed between the arm and body of that Nobleman—we had almost written, wing and side. Should a Paper which pursues this manner of reasoning be prosecuted? The extravagance is self-corrective.

We quote the passage to a part of which we have made allusion:—

"Of what are we accused by the Duke of Wel-
"lington? He says we call him 'proud, overbear-
"ing, grasping, dishonest, and unprincipled, and
"capable of a design to overturn the Crown and
"prostrate the laws and liberties of this country.'

"We reiterate the charge.

"The Duke of Wellington *is* Proud.

"The Duke of Wellington *is* Overbearing.

"The Duke of Wellington *is* Grasping.

"The Duke of Wellington *is* Dishonest.

"The Duke of Wellington *is* Unprincipled.

"As for the rest, we affirm that the Duke of
"Wellington is capable *of doing anything. Did*
"*he not aim a murderous pistol at the life of Lord*
"*Winchilsea? Did the ball not pass between the*
"*arm and body of that Nobleman,* who generously
"refrained from returning his fire? *Capable,* in-
"deed!—he is capable of doing anything. As to
"'overturning the Crown,' that is impossible.
"This, we admit, he cannot do. *We shall take*
"*care* that neither he nor any other Minister shall
"accomplish this *in our day.* He is quite *incapa-*
"*ble* of doing that, whatever his *intentions* may be.
"He may, for aught we know, be *capable* of *aspir-*
"*ing to sovereign power in some of the small states*
"*in South America;* but as to being King of En-
"gland, that is entirely out of the question. We
"never dreamt of this exaltation. We never even
"hinted at it in jest. Good God! the Duke,

"*King?*—No, no,—there is mettle enough in "ruined England to save it from such eternal "disgrace."

There is nothing in Murphy's *Quidnunc* richer than this, and it is surely matter more meet for pleasantry than prosecution. Such rants have precisely the force of the mock-heroic, and to deal with them seriously is a gross folly indeed.

To confess the truth, we are somewhat jealous, somewhat in the mood of the Court-lady passed over in a lampoon. We do think that a certain article of ours, representing the Duke of Wellington as confining the King in a coal-cellar under Windsor Castle, was as much entitled to the honours of a prosecution as the matter of accusation vamped up against the *Morning Journal*. We shall not patiently submit, however, to this neglect; and we have serious thoughts of exposing Mr Peel's designs for seizing on the Sovereignty of New South Wales, and proclaiming himself Robert the First, by the Grace of Mercury, King of Australasia, Duke of Dieman's Land, Prince of Swan River, and Defender of the "Nimming Lay."* It is not unknown to us, that Mr Thomas Peel shipped a cargo of rebels, with arms, ammunition, and a red cow educated to swallow the Governor.

* "The Nimming Lay," according to Fielding, is that art which, practised in Parliament, is called jobbing, and in the Trivia, thieving.

We have seen a statement, that the Duke of Wellington has extended his prosecutions to the *Standard*. If the powers of argument were only to be resisted by the punishment of the Law, there might be more of apology for this prosecution than for that of the *Morning Journal*, but the vice is the same in both cases, and it only wears a greater show of folly in the former one. The *Standard* is not a paper of mere declamation; its informing mind is manifestly one of very considerable knowledge, finished scholastic accomplishments, and consummate dialectical skill. Its opinions lie poles asunder from our own on almost every point susceptible of discussion, but we are convinced the cause of truth will be eventually served by the workings of such an agent, even in that of error. The *Standard* has obtained authority with a class which has long mistaken dogmatizing and phrasing for argument, and if it familiarizes, as we think it must, these persons with the modes and forms of reasoning, it will accomplish one of the most difficult steps in public instruction, and prepare the way for the reception of truth. To spread the invader's language in an enemy's country is an ancient and approved policy, and the *Standard* is rendering that service by making the tongue of reason known to the magpie faction which chatters "Church and King."

APOLOGUE ADDRESSED TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

A KNIGHT surprised a giant of enormous size and wickedness sleeping, his head lying under the shade of an oak big enough to serve him as parasol. The knight prayed heaven to aid his strength, and lifting his battle-axe to the utmost stretch of his arm, dashed the edge with all his might upon the forehead of the giant. The giant opened his eyes, and drowsily passing his hand over his brow, murmured, "The falling leaves trouble my rest," and straight he slumbered again. The knight summoned his courage and energies for another stroke. He invoked all the saints, and reinforced them, as men do in the last extremities, with all the devils; then again whirled his axe in the air, and furiously drove it at the temple of the giant with a force that would have cleaved an elephant in twain. The giant stirred, and said, "The dropping acorns disturb my sleep."

The knight flung down his axe, and fled aghast from an enemy who held the doughtiest blows of his might as falling leaves and dropping acorns.

The degenerate giants of modern times, if a pen's point be thrust against them, cry murder,

rush for refuge into the King's Bench Court, and prosecute under the black act for cutting and maiming with intent to kill. They are of the breed of Widenostrils in Rabelais, who though his appointed diet was windmills, was yet miserably choked by a pound of fresh butter insinuated into his gullet at the mouth of a hot oven. The delicacy of these Titans is now-a-days perfectly wonderful.

THE USURY LAWS.

THE horror of usury is a fine example of the force of a name once brought into bad repute. To permit usury is to permit the advantages to be made of money which are made of all other properties; but the word usurer is not applied to the landlord, the merchant, the tradesman, or the noble horse-dealer. A house may be let at double its worth, and it is no usury; goods sold at a profit of 50 per cent. yet no usury; horses disposed of at treble their value, and the success is boasted without any shame of usury. Render the transactions into money, and the advantage taken of cupidity or inexperience becomes instantly scandalous and illegal. There is an analogy here between the

law and the rule of morals. To touch money is in many instances shameful, where no reproach attaches to accepting a present convertible into cash. The direct contact with the circulating medium constitutes the baseness in such affairs. But would we consent to the pillage of the spendthrift and the advantage taken of the necessitous? Imagine fifteen, twenty, or thirty per cent! The thought raises tender commiseration in cash transactions, and why not in goods? Let us deal with the favourite case—the young prodigal: he wants money to supply his extravagances. The law shuts the money-market against him, where, we we will suppose, he might borrow at fifteen per cent. and purchase the objects of his desire at the moderate ready-money terms; and in this predicament his resource is to go to tradesmen, who furnish him upon credit, at prices thirty per cent. beyond the fair charge. The tender care of the law thus subjects him to a sacrifice of fifteen per cent. Another desires to borrow five hundred pounds. The circumstances of the borrower, as is supposed in the former example, are not such as to offer a temptation to lenders for the legal interest; the care of the legislature will not permit him to engage for twenty per cent. in consideration of the risk of non-payment; but he is free to give bills for the purchase of goods turned the next day into cash, and sold at a loss of cent. per cent. He sacrifices two hundred pounds or so for the accom-

modation, and thanks the legislature for its tender care. The embarrassed landowner is saved from loans at six, seven, or eight per cent. and kindly left to the resource of annuities, at three times the sacrifice. Thus the law protects the inexperienced, prodigal, or the necessitous, as it protects hares, partridges, and pheasants; that is to say, it guards them against the honest, and makes them the prey of poachers. The prohibition just serves to raise the price of the article, and to confine the trade to knavish dealers.

Were money placed on the footing of other commodities, the market for loans would be extended, rendered respectable, and the competition of lenders would bring the rate of interest to fair proportions to the risks.

DOWNFALL OF THE WELLINGTON MINISTRY.

Since the glory of the people of Paris in July, there has been nothing comparable in conspicuousness to the folly of the Government of England in this month of November. The great Duke would seem to have said, "We too will obtain distinction, "but of a different sort. If the French have

"astonished by their valour, I will amaze by my "fears; if they have struggled for the cap of "liberty, I will strive for a cap of another fashion "and quality; if they have crowned themselves "with imperishable honours, I will cover the head "of our Government with the conical badge justly "earned by the most notable folly. If they "have had their three days of glory, I will have "three times three of wonder, and the nine days "of November shall be memorable in the annals "of city shows and British statesmanship." Of a truth his Grace has filled up the measure of the time and of amazement. On the 1st, there was much expectancy but no agitation, curiosity but no confusion. The Minister, who correctly thinks that silence becomes his councils, and that they are never so profitable as while they remain unknown, had kept the secret of his intentions, and conjecture was scarcely dashed with apprehension. On the 2d instant, however, the masked battery opens a fire of red-hot shot at almost every popular object. The Ministers put into the King's mouth the most displeasing speech that has been uttered by a British monarch within the last hundred and fifty years! This address was framed in accordance with the desires of the ultra-Tory faction, by whose support the Duke hoped to obtain the necessary majorities for the support of his Government in Parliament. Before he had time to ascertain the effect of the King's Speech, he committed

himself to the declaration against Reform, which doubtless he considered as a corroborant fixing the High Tory alliance. The miscalculation was soon corrected. The King's Speech had created alarm and spread general discontent, and the Prime Minister's additional exposition had given the finishing stroke to the dissatisfaction. In this predicament the Administration pursued its customary course. The metal of the Government of the Hero of Waterloo is malleable; it is heavy and dull as lead, but as susceptible of impression, and it may be beaten into any form. Finding that the speech against Reform had an effect the opposite to that which was desired, and perceiving that the Thanes fled councils which had the gloomy lowerings of desperation, the Duke's creatures were employed to deny the accuracy of the obnoxious passage; Lord Winchilsea, however, whether wittingly or not we are unable to say, defeated this manœuvre by referring with indignation to the worst words of the declaration against Reform, and the Duke, thus challenged, made no sign of denial. The nights of the 3rd and the 4th were employed by Ministers in backing out, or endeavouring to back out of the false position with respect to opinion in which they found they had placed themselves, on nearly every subject on which the Address treated. The Ultra-Tory party was not completely gained, probably not more than half gained. The waverers were alarmed by the

effects of the experiment, and the condition of extremity all things indicated. The Liberals in Parliament were calmly triumphant, seeing the enemy entangled in his own toils. The country looking on in wondering disgust, exasperation softened by contempt, and the persuasion that such folly was rushing on its termination in the instant destruction of its authors.

Such was the state of things when a new hope—a forlorn hope it surely was—occurred to the Minister. Alarm was the chance—too much and too little had been done in the King's Speech—sedition and disaffection had been threatened, but not shown. A plot or a panic was wanted, but how to be got up?

> Quisnam
> Delator? quibus indiciis? Quo teste probavit?
> Nil horum. Verbosa et grandis epistola venit.

An aldermanic soul had been moved with fears for the safety of the Hero of Waterloo on his way to the dinner at Guildhall, and he writes to the Duke a letter advising him of the danger and the necessity of military convoy,—a letter not *verbosa et grandis*, but composed in the aldermanic tongue. Alderman Key, Mayor Elect, began by setting forth that numberless communications are made to him "*from* the situation of Lord Mayor to which he has been elected," and he proceeded to show that such communications *from* his said situation taught him that an attack was intended on the Duke's

person on his approach to the hall. His Grace might have thought that the Alderman's discretion was not better than his grammar, or he might have laughed at the officious concern of the worthy civic functionary, and the implicitness of his faith in communications probably addressed to his credulity for the purpose of hoax; but no, the tender of the Alderman's fears, and his idea of the necessity for arms, could not be lost in times when every material for alarm was so much in demand, and putting together that letter and the darkness of November nights, the dangers common to assemblages of multitudes, and the attacks of pick-pockets upon the New Police, a case was made for determining the Duke not to go to the dinner, and also for advising his Majesty to decline the entertainment. The resolution published on the Monday morning spread alarm and anger through the metropolis. It seemed as if the hand of rash and wilful ignorance was giving a deranged action to the machinery of the state, turning its powers against the public peace, destroying confidence, and working infinite mischiefs by vague apprehensions. A great commercial nation such as England, is a body delicately sensitive, upon whose nerves every extraordinary agitation has intense and far-spreading effects; and what an impression was it to go forth that the King of England durst not pass in procession through the streets of his capital! Ministers allege the novel discovery that nights in

November are dark, that the police are liable to the attacks of pickpockets, street brawlers, or men who seize any pretexts for violence; all these things were known, however, before the King accepted the invitation of the city, and the speech advised by his Ministers on the opening of the Session, is the only new circumstance which would have altered the reception of the royal train. We do believe that the Ministers would have been assailed with the common expressions of an English mob's displeasure; we do believe that, at night, there might have been rioting, or the attempt at rioting, because such circumstances are probable on occasions of large assemblages, in which there must be many ill-disposed persons, who will make public grievances a pretext for creating the confusion serving to their knavish objects; but these considerations hold good against any spectacles gathering the people into masses, and were not especially forcible in respect of the monarch's intended visit to the city. For the first time, we learn that the wilfulness of those described as the lowest rabble, or rogues, is to prevail against the pride of the great and the pleasures of the respectable mass of the people. If the Duke of Wellington thought himself so odious to the people that his appearance would have excited tumult, his course was to retire, and to leave the King free to pursue the career of popularity. If, on the other

hand, he apprehended only the hostility of the idle and profligate, he should have trusted to the arrangements for the preservation of order, and to better disposition of the immense mass of the people, to put down the disturbers of the peace. But he thought neither of the one nor of the other consideration; a panic he wanted, and on the first pretext for a panic he greedily seized.

The King was popular, is popular; for his popularity is not damaged by what has passed, as the people considerately distinguish between his Majesty's dispositions and the selfish policy of his Ministers; but if he retain an administration which has become odious and contemptible, it will be supposed that he has affections for the persons, and policy that have provoked popular disgust, and his favour with the nation will give place to other and less agreeable sentiments.

The explanations of Ministers have been received with a mixture of ridicule and indignation. Sir Robert Peel claimed praise for the government, on the score of its having forborne to call for new powers upon the great state emergency of the pick-pocket riots, and the Alderman's letter. What wretched materials for an alarm!—so wretched, so miserably mean, that they are insufficient for the mere stuffing of a plot. Ministers would joyfully have laid a green bag on the table of the House of Commons, but they had nothing to put into it

except the Alderman Key and the Watch-house returns of some two or three scores of assaults and battery, with the usual accompanying casualties of bloody noses, black eyes, cracked crowns, &c.!

Upon the success of Sir Henry Parnell's motion for referring the Civil List to a Select Committee, the Wellington Government gave up the ghost.

Hated, despised, derided, covered with every species of disgrace, the Wellington Administration has fallen—an example and a warning to statesmen of the controlling genius of the age, and the power of opinion. Never did a Government, in the short space of fourteen days, contrive to render itself so odious and so contemptible. With what ingenious management it indicated all hateful purposes, and with what matchless fatuity it discovered the weakness that neutralized the vice, "letting I dare not, wait upon I would," showing the mind for mischief and the hand powerless of the evil achievement!

How vast, yet silent and unsuspected have been the advances of the popular cause. Six years ago, the declaration against reform which passed from Wellington's lips as his doom, marking him rash and dangerous, *homme aux abois*,—six years ago, the same speech would have been received with cheers, and re-echoed with praise by all the sycophants, parasites, dupes, and fools, in the

united kingdoms. But a different understanding has begun to prevail. The eyes of men are opened, their wits sharpened against abuse, and the mere worldlings, even the time-servers and slaves of authority, saw that the Minister was a discredited and lost man, when he uttered the impudent outrage against truth and the common sense of the nation. If, as a quaint old writer says, "It is pleasant music to hear disarmed malice threaten when it cannot strike," how sweet should have sounded the voice of Wellington in the House of Lords on the memorable 2nd of November; the Duke's great talent was for silence, but like the fabled swan, he gave voice as prelude to his approaching end. To us the omen sounded pleasant; but our enemies heard in it the raven's croak. The Scotch have a superstition, that when a man is near his death, he becomes *fey*, and denotes his approaching fate by a number of unusual and frantic actions, of whose character he appears unconscious. The Duke's political demise has been signalized by these tokens: the King's speech, his own additional extravagance against reform, his panic, his susceptibility to aldermanic impressions, and ludicrous yet disastrous resolves, all bespoke the *fey* spirit of the Scotch. He is now departed from the place of power, and with him are for ever gone the antiquated principles of misgovernment, whose sudden revival caused almost as instant destruction.

LAMENTABLE FELO DE SE.

On Wednesday last, an inquest was held by Mr Stirling, the Coroner for the County of Middlesex, on the body of A*th*r D*ke of W*ll*ngt*n, who committed suicide in his office at the Treasury on Monday last.

The Jury, on viewing the body, found scarcely an appearance of head, so completely had the unfortunate Nobleman destroyed all signs of that organ of intelligence.

The first witness examined was the Duke's valet, who deposed that his Grace had for many months past been in a declining way, and latterly much troubled with vain fears. He thought he saw a change in his master's manner, first about the month of July 1829, when he talked strangely of Prince Polignac, praising his wisdom, and seeming to feel an uneasy admiration of his mode of government. Soon after he was troubled with blue devils, and was very sad after reading the newspapers. A pompous gentleman who used to call often, he thought, did his master no good—he said the Duke's blue devils were the Printer's Devils, and we would find a way of laying them.

From this time the Duke never did well. He became incoherent, and would say one thing when he meant another. He (the valet) always understood him by the rule of contraries. If the Duke said *no*, he knew that he meant *yes*; and if he said *yes*, he meant *no*. Thought his master declined very much with the fall of the leaf, and became very sad and nervous. Thought it was only the month, or November melancholy, that was the cause of it.—Cross-examined by a Juror: The witness continued—The weather was bright, but heard the Duke say he could not see before his nose. His master had a long nose, but not so long that he could not see before it without glasses. Thought he might hear himself sneeze, but the Duke was deaf. Thought he could not hear the voice of the people. He had a humming in his ear—could not say but it might be a humbugging. Remembers the 5th of November. The Duke said the people wanted to make a Guy Faux of him. His Grace said he was tormented with squibs and crackers, and cruelly roasted by the Press. Recollects the attack of some boys on the Duke, who complained that the head of the Government was gravelled. Heard some conversation of a dark, stooping Nobleman, with his master, on the King's speech. The Earl said it was full of coals of strife. The Duke answered, we must send coals to Newcastle, and laughed hysterically—

never heard him laugh before.—Examined by another Juror: The witness said, his master became sensibly worse on the 6th. Said a fortune-teller had advised him to beware of a feast. Heard him declare that he had had the opinions of two Aldermen, who were very wise men, and they thought it unsafe for him to go into the City, unless he went as one of the men in armour. Heard him observe that he conducted the Government as the Irishman drove his pig, by saying he was going one way when he meant to go the contrary. Thought it an odd remark, but it was the Duke's way. It was witness's decided opinion that the Duke was not right in his head, and that his act of self-destruction was committed in a state of insanity. Was convinced the Duke was incompetent to manage affairs since July, 1829.

By the Foreman: Can you instance any particular acts of insanity?

Witness: I can. Giving one Philpotts a Bishopric. Making Mr Cartwright Minister at Frankfort. Also the intended appointment of Lord Bathurst's son to the vacant place of Clerk of the Council. The opinion in the servants'-hall and housekeeper's room, on these steps, was decidedly that master was out of his mind, and not long for this Downing-street.

James Whispum, his Grace's groom, examined:

Thought his master changed since the summer of 1829. His seat became very insecure, and he was always a tumbling. He rode very strange—he rode with his face to the tail, and looked one way while he went another. Talked wildly of the curb, of late, and was all for whip and spur, but very fearful if his beast did but cock its ears. Seemed to reckon much on a canter down Constitution-hill with the Duke of Newcastle, but came down, and was rolled in the dirt. Remembers the 6th instant, and heard that his Grace had shyed the City Feast, being frightened by a Donkey. Very common for high-couraged cattle to take fright at asses. His Grace had a desperately-poor stud. Thought him strange in the head for keeping such cattle. Most of them wretched hacks. Sir Robert, the best, but farcied and touched in the wind. Aberdeen, a mule, blind, and vicious. Goulburn, a screw, not worth his straw. Lyndhurst, good bone, but shabby from changing his coat, and bad trimming. Ellenborough, weedy, goose-rumped, all action, and no go. Altogether a wretched set, neither safe nor sound; but, against all advice, his master would keep them to carry him through the winter. Thought him out of his mind, and unfit to be trusted with the reins. Was not surprised at his fall.

Examined by a Juror: Considered it a sign of madness for a gentleman to keep hacks, at a great

cost, which were a disgrace to his stud, and unable to carry him with safety or credit. Thought a rocking-horse would have been better than Goulburn.

Tobias Lickspit, his Grace's cook, was next examined: Had been in the Duke's service six weeks. Remembers the Cabinet Dinner before the meeting of Parliament. Received some orders from his Grace, who was writing in his study when witness was called in, and who jocosely said, Toby, I am doing something in your way, making a currie, hot and strong, for the taste of some shy friends. Understood afterwards that his Grace meant he was currying to the Duke of Newcastle. He afterwards said he was putting lobster-sauce into his Majesty's mouth. Thought him odd for such ideas. The Duke called him up, and asked him whether he thought he could depend upon the City cooks? Witness answered, he thought they might give him a coarse bourgeois dinner. The Duke replied, he did not mean that; but two very wise men, Sir Claudius Hunter and Alderman Key, had informed him there was a plot to kill, dress, and eat him in the City, and he wished to know whether the witness thought the cooks would be in the broil. He said he had certain information that ten thousand spits would be aimed against his life. Thought his Grace very wild, and incompetent to the management of affairs. The

Duke kept all the world in hot water. Thought his master deranged, for he deranged everything, spoiled stock, and flung the fat in the fire.

Lord —— examined. Heard his Grace's speech of the 2d inst. in the House of Lords, and thought the latter part indicated an alarming state of desperation in his Noble Friend. Feared that he had laid violent tongue on himself, and was a lost man. Had made a minute of the passage against reform, which he would read to the Jury.

After hearing this quotation, the Foreman addressed the Coroner, telling him that they would spare him the trouble of summing up, as they were unanimously of opinion that the unhappy Duke of W——n had committed *felo de se* in a state of insanity, in which there was reason to believe he had been since the month of July 1829, and they levied a deodand of a crown on the King's speech and the declaration against reform, as the instruments of the unfortunate Nobleman's pitiable destruction.

ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

To encourage the worst bias of every administration of a mixed character, would seem the rule of

a part of the Press professing liberal opinions. The instant a government is formed combining good and bad dispositions, every effort is made to protect the good from requisition, to fortify it against solicitation, to pale it in against use, to hoard it up as too delicate and too precious for exercise. We all remember the Canning Ministry, and the rejoicings, and praise, and congratulation that rung through the Press during the period of its existence —*tertius e cælo cecidit Cato*—the genius of liberty was incarnated for the delivery of mankind, but his power was declared dependent on this one unfortunate condition, that no good should be attempted by him or required of him. We had the best conceivable Minister, with this singular unlucky infirmity, that the undertaking of any object of benefit to the country, would be fatal to his political sway. "Urge him not to Catholic Emancipation," "speak not of toleration," "name not retrenchment," "hint not of Reform," was the cry of the disciples. "Rejoice in the best of possible ministers; and destroy him not by the requisition of any good." In the simplicity of our understandings, we could never discover the advantage of having an excellent minister whose retention of power was said to depend on his not directing it to any desirable object. Mr Canning had good and evil dispositions, and the good were doubtless discouraged by the arguments for inaction we have instanced. Admonish a statesman that virtue

is perilous to him, and we need not fear to see him a martyr. A prodigious effusion of cant, of a like pestilent sort, has streamed forth, to moat in as it were, the new Government* against the just demands of the people for a complete Parliamentary Reform. In order to encourage the Government to withhold all that it may not be absolutely necessary to grant, the people are admonished to be thankful for, and satisfied with, any thing they can get. A Provincial Paper has the honour of presenting the best sample of this wise and honest advice:—

"Could we have our wish, we would rouse the "voice of the whole nation in support of the pre-"sent Ministry on the condition of Reform and "Economy: and thus, with both the King and the "people at their backs, Ministers might beard the "lion of the boroughmongering system, and bring "the monster to the ground.

"Let us not be misunderstood. We do not "expect that this Ministry, or that any Ministry "will, or can, do at once every thing in the way of "reforming the Representation that the intelligent "part of the community think ought ultimately "to be done. We certainly anticipate a very "moderate plan of Reform in the first instance. "But *let the Reformers be aware how they reject* "*or despise the proffered boon. They never had*

* The Grey Government, which had been formed about three weeks.

" *such an offer before. They know not when they* " *may have any offer at all of the same nature* " *again, if the present be refused.* We are firmly " convinced that no Minister *could* effect at once " all the Reform that is to be desired; and, more- " over, we very seriously doubt whether any " Minister *ought* to attempt it. We are delibe- " rately in favour of an extensive Reform, but we " cannot shut our eyes to the fact that it involves " a very important change in the Constitution, " and we should be far from urging a Ministry " really favourable to the principle into rash and " violent measures. We think it will be safer " for the country that the Reform should be gra- " dual. *Let the Reformers, then, thankfully* " *accept a moderate degree of Reform,*—if, indeed, " it be real, and such as deserves the name; and " let them heartily support the Ministry which " will carry such a measure. They may safely " reserve their further claims to a future and not " distant period."

As for gratitude and acceptance, neither enters into the question. The rights of the people are not a beggar's boon. We are not supplicants, but claimants. The language held in the above quoted passage is appropriate only to the relations between potent masters and helpless slaves. The Reformers "never had such an offer before. " They know not when they may have any offer " at all of the same nature again, if the present be

"refused." It is thus represented as now or never for the nation's rights;" or as the vulgar saying would express it, Britannia "is on her last legs." Sad, sad, to hear! But, gracious *Mercury*, inform us, by virtue of your honest divinity, what has happened to the force of public opinion, which, supposing dissatisfaction with Whig Reform, is henceforth to be incapable of procuring any terms? Time is not observed to be inimical to the power of the people, nor does repulse or denial seem to abate their spirit, or shake their convictions. Even should sham Reform be lost by the thanklessness of the public, we do not apprehend that opinion would thenceforth lose its force, or that the insignificant people, the united millions of these kingdoms, would sink into passive unresisting thraldom to a handful of boroughmongers.

The passage we have quoted is sample of a slang not confined to the Journal whence we quote it, and which is likely to have the most pernicious effect. It is putting arms into the hands of our enemies, to be turned against our friends. The present Cabinet is composed of men entertaining opinions materially varying in degree as to the requisite Reform. There are some who desire a large measure; there are others who are for the smallest concession. Now, what is the effect of informing the latter that the people must be satisfied with any terms that may be granted to them, for that dissatisfaction now might involve denial of their

demands for ever? The argument of our enemies against our friends is this—"You see the language "of the Press; you see the people are told to "be content with what they can get; you see it "put now or never, little or nothing, to them; "then, why make the concession so large? what "occasion for so considerable a surrender? As "the least will suffice, let us give little. Sudden "changes are dangerous, and much content with "slender gain is promised."

The disposition of the people is misrepresented, and their intelligence is much under-rated, when it is supposed that they can be the dupes of such clumsy attempts to misguide them as those upon which we are observing. Have they not heard it said in Parliament, and seen it written in newspapers and pamphlets, that it is advisable to grant some Reform without delay, because the earlier the concession, the less the extent of it. Is it, then, the part of the people to manifest a disposition to be satisfied with slender improvements, and abjectly thankful for small graces? Are they to strengthen their enemies' counsels, and to weaken their friends' arguments by promising a spurious content, dispensing with necessary rights, and receiving the poorest compromise of justice with the gratitude of a boon? No; these manifestations would be as inconsistent with the temper as with the policy of the people. They know their strength; they know their claims; they know the

disposition to reduce the concession to the lowest measure that could pass upon simplicity and credulity for Reform. Further, they know that rights are to be extorted—that there is no example of rights obtained but by wringing them from the reluctant hands of injustice—and the higher they advance their just demands, and the more resolutely they urge them, the greater is the probability of gaining a sufficient portion of them, or of winning a power that may command more.

We hope to see strong petitions from every part of the country requiring Ballot, and demanding a constituency co-extensive with property and education. By property we do not mean wealth. Every man who possesses or earns a hundred a-year has a property that gives him the closest interest in good government, and if a pecuniary qualification be, as we hope it will, at no distant time, adopted, it should be reduced in amount at stated intervals; as thus—one hundred per annum at the period of enactment, 90*l.* six years afterwards, 80*l.* six years after that, and so descending as improvement is advancing among the industrious classes.

PAUL LOUIS COURIER.

It is difficult to convey an idea of the character of Paul Louis Courier's writings, which have obtained the highest celebrity in France. They so curiously combine various difficult excellencies, that by no particular example can we give a notion of their character and merits. They have the perspicuity and analytical power of Cobbett; the wit of Swift without its grossness; the ease of Addison; with the point and polish of Junius. These are rather terms of praise than of description, we are aware; and every one acquainted with the writings will agre how easy it is to feel and how difficult to specify their peculiar perfection. One faculty of Courier's mind may be broadly distinguished,—a piercing perception which allowed him to be the dupe of none of the stately impostures of the world. Such clear-sighted views are for mankind's benefit, not for the individual's happiness; and in regarding their effect, we are tempted to exclaim with the poet—

"Ill fares the mortal man too much who knows."

The old fable of Actæon would indeed seem to signify the fate of those who see the nakedness of

great mysteries,—they are aspersed, tűrned from pursuers into prey, and torn to pieces by their own hounds.

In the early life of Paul Louis Courier, we remark that, being wise beyond his generation, he was too wise for success, or for content. In advanced life, indeed, he obtained popularity and fame as a political writer, but with them came persecution; and assassination closed a life to be admired rather than envied. This estimate is formed on our own inferences, and in opposition to the assertions of Courier himself, who is at some pains to impress his friends with an opinion of his happiness—always a suspicious anxiety. In one place he writes thus, and the sentiment is of melancholy interest now that its truth is exemplified by the writer's fate:—

"I am happy, no man living is more so, or any "perhaps so content: I do not envy even the "peasants I have seen in Switzerland; for I have "advantage over them of knowing my happiness. "Do not say, *wait the end;* saving the respect due "to the ancients, nothing is more false than that "rule. The evil of to-morrow shall never deprive "me of the good of to-day."

In study Courier found his pleasures, and even when engaged in the toils of an active military life, he made himself the most accomplished Greek scholar of his nation. Books constituted his hap-

piness; and the world seems necessarily to have been for him one scene of discontent. He saw, in too much truth for peace, its cheats, injustice, and oppression. A single sentence eloquently indicates his thoughts on this vast subject, and the object of his labours:—

"Ah! if my tongue could speak that which my "mind sees, if I had the power to show to others the "truth that strikes my eyes, to turn their view "from the false grandeurs they pursue to the con- "templation of liberty, all would love, all desire it. "Men would learn that they gain nothing by des- "potism, that there is no tyrant above obedience, "no master who may not be slave, and dismissing "the fatal lust of sway, their desire would be to "enjoy life, leaving others to enjoy it also."

Consistent with Courier's love of liberty and independence, was his contempt of the proneness of men to servility, and prostration to gew-gaw idols. With bitterness he remarks,—

"By an instinct of nature, we are valets born; "men are mean and abject; some insolent by the "baseness of all; abhorring justice, right, and equity; "each wishing to be not master but favoured slave. "Were there but three men in the world, one would "pay court to another and call him Lord, and those "two united would force the third to work for them."

Here we have described in all simplicity the scheme of an admirable constitution. Master, Sycophant, Slave. But in progress of time the

toad-eater swallows the toad, the parasite possesses the patron, and despotism gives place to oligarchy.

Before we speak more of Courier's sentiments, we must give some rough outline of his life and circumstances. Courier was an Officer of Artillery during the Consulate of Napoleon and the early part of his Imperial reign. He carried arms in Italy, performed his duty in the most disagreeable service, for which he volunteered, that of the army of occupation in Calabria, despised glory, and studied Greek.

The glitter of Bonaparte's fame never dazzled the judgment of this right-thinking man. He saw in the conqueror only the superior artist in the trade of butchery. The profession of arms he speaks of as *vil metier*, and he repeatedly expresses his repugnance to making the goal of life "the obscure honours of a legion." As early as the year 1805, he expresses himself as a little disgusted with glory by certain people whom he sees covered with it from head to foot, and who have not a whit the better air. In a letter in the same year, he observes that the great events which hold the world in suspense little merit the attention of a man of sense, and that it is folly to meditate on that which depends on the digestions of Bonaparte. "All," adds he, referring to the duration of peace, "hangs "on the caprice of two or three bipeds without "feathers, who sport with the human species."

For his own part in a bad drama, he remarks,—

"There is nothing of which one may not make "a good use; and so professing the art of mas- "sacre, as Lafontaine calls it, I derive means for a "better end; and a state inimical apparently to "all study, I make the principal source of my "instruction of more than one sort. It is by "favour of my uniform that I survey Italy, and "especially these provinces, only to be travelled "over with an army."

The above was written when the bipeds without feathers, Napoleon in France and George in England, had set their playthings in motion at the Royal game of destruction; and note the worst hardship of war which personally befell poor Courier in Calabria:—

"I had saved from the pillage of my little pack, "that which I called my breviary. It was an "'Iliad' of the Royal press,' a small volume "which you may have seen in the hands of the "Abbé Barthelemy; this copy passed from him "to me (*quam dispari domino!*), and I know it "was his custom to carry it in his walks. For my "part, I carried it about with me everywhere, but, "the other day, I know not why, I trusted it to "a soldier who led me a horse. That soldier was "killed and stripped! What shall I say, Sir? I "have lost eight horses, my clothes, my linen, my "cloak, my pistols, my money, but I regret only

" my Homer; and to recover it would give the " only shirt that remains to me. It was my " society, my sole companion, in the bivouac and " the watch. My comrades laugh. I should like " them to lose their last pack of cards, to see the " face they would put on it."

A year afterwards he says to a Correspondent,—

" Think not I have lost all my time; I have " applied myself to useful studies, and I know " some things not to be learned in books."

He was indeed always in progress of improvement, and exercising a powerful judgment on the actions and characters of men, as well as applying his abilities to advancement in learning.

At this moment we shall confine ourselves to the indications of Courier's character, which appear in his familiar letters—a most delightful collection: on another opportunity, we propose giving some specimens of those publications which have obtained for him a place in public reputation among the best writers of France.

What a pleasant picture is this of Emperor-manufacture, Napoleon-making, dated May 1804!—

" This morning, D'Anthouard assembled us " (the regiment) and told us what he was about, " but honestly, without preamble or peroration " An Emperor, or the Republic—which is most to " your taste? as they say, roast or boiled, broth or " soup, which do you like? His harangue finished

" 'Gentlemen, what say you?' Not a word—no
" one opened his mouth. This lasted a quarter of
" an hour or more, and became embarrassing to
" poor D'Anthouard and all the rest; when Macie,
" a young man, a Lieutenant whom you may have
" seen, rose and said, 'If he wishes to be Emperor,
" let him; but to speak my mind, I don't approve
" it at all.' 'Explain yourself,' said the Colonel;
" 'do you desire it or not?' 'I do not,' answered
" Macie. 'Very well'—a new silence. We began
" looking at each other like people met for the first
" time. We should have been thus yet, if I had
" not taken up the question. 'Gentlemen,' said
" I, 'it seems to me, saving correction, that this
" does not concern us: the nation desires an Em-
" peror? is it for us to deliberate?' This reason-
" ing appeared so strong, so luminous, so *ad rem*,
" that I gave the tone to the assembly. Never
" had orator a success so complete; they rose, they
" signed, they went to play at billiards. Macie
" said to me, 'I'faith, Commandant, you talk like
" Cicero; but why do you wish him to be Em-
" peror?' 'To finish the matter, and play our
" game at billiards. Should we have stopped there
" all day? Why, did *you not* wish him to be
" Emperor?' 'I don't know,' said he; 'but I
" thought him made for something better.'

" Such was the sentiment of a Lieutenant, which
" I do not find so foolish. In fact, why should a
" man like Bonaparte, a soldier, chief of an army,

" first captain of the world, wish to be called Ma-
" jesty? To be Bonaparte is to make himself *Sire*.
" He aspires to descend: but no, he thinks to
" mount to an equality with Kings. He prefers
" a title to a name. Poor man! his ideas are
" below his fortune.' "

In another place, he thus indicates his opinions:—

" The other day, in reading the petition of some
" one who protested his devotion to the person of
" the Emperor, we rated this new form as of no
" more truth than *your very humble servant*, and
" agreed, that to be exact, one should declare
" devotion to the paymaster's chest."

Playfulness was as congenial to Courier as to most great minds, witness the following pleasant account of an adventure in Calabria, which furnishes the plot for a farce. The French army of occupation were at that time obnoxious to the peasantry, and cut off wherever they were found at a disadvantage. Courier was travelling through the country thus, according to his description in a letter to a lady:—

" I had for a companion a young man of figure!
" —*ma foi*, like the gentleman we saw at Riney,
" do you remember it? and finer still perhaps; I
" say not that to interest you, but because it is
" true. In those mountains the roads are preci-
" pices; our horses went with much pain; my
" comrade proceeded in advance. A path which

" seemed to him more practicable and short led us
" astray. This was my fault; ought I to have
" trusted to a head of twenty years old? we sought
" while it was day our road across this wood, but
" the more we sought the more we lost it, and it
" was dark night when we arrived at a house as
" dark as the night. There we found the family of
" a collier at table, where, at a word, they invited
" us. My youth did not allow himself to be twice
" asked; and behold us eating and drinking, him
" at least, because as for me, I examined the place
" and the air of our hosts. Our hosts had much
" the appearance of colliers, but the house you
" would have taken for an arsenal; it was nothing
" but guns, pistols, sabres, knives, and cutlasses.
" Everything displeased me, and I saw well *I* dis-
" pleased also: my comrade, on the contrary, was
" one of the family; he laughed, he chatted with
" them, and with an imprudence which I ought to
" have prevented, he said whence we came, and
" that we were French—imagine for an instant,
" among our most mortal enemies, alone, bewildered,
" so far from all human succour! And then, to leave
" nothing undone, he talked of his valise, begging
" earnestly, that they would take great care of it,
" that they would place it under his bolster; he
" wanted, he said, no other pillow! Ah! youth!
" youth! how much your age is to blame. Cousin,
" they believed we carried the diamonds of the
" crown. But what he had, which made him so

" careful of his valise, was the correspondence of " his mistress! The supper finished, they left us; " our hosts slept down below, we in the chamber " above, where we had supped. A loft elevated " seven or eight feet, to which there was access by " a ladder, was the couch which awaited us, a sort " of nest into which we were to introduce ourselves " by crawling under the joists laden with provi- " sions for the year. My comrade climbed up " alone, and to bed and asleep with his precious " valise under his head. I was determined to keep " watch, and made a good fire and sat myself down " by it. The night had almost passed quietly " enough, and I had began to muster con- " fidence, when, nearer day-break, I heard my host " and hostess talk and dispute, and inclining an ear " to the chimney communicating with that below, " I distinguished perfectly these words of the hus- " band: '*Then let us consider: should we kill* " *both of them?*' To which the wife replied, '*Yes.*' " And I heard no more. What shall I say! " I lay breathing with difficulty, my body cold " as marble—to see me, you would have sup- " posed me rather dead than living. Oh Heaven! " when I yet think of it—we two almost without " arms against those eleven or twelve who had " such an abundance—and my comrade sleeping, " so dead with fatigue! To arouse him would " make a noise; I dared not; escape alone I could " not; the window was not high, but below it two

" dogs howled like wolves. Imagine my misery " if you can. At the end of a quarter of an hour, " which was long, I heard some one on the stair- " case, and through the chink in the door I saw " the man, with the lamp in one hand, and in the " other one of his great knives. He ascended, " his wife after him: I behind the door. He " opened it, but before entering he set down the " lamp, which his wife took; then he entered with " naked foot, and she, from without, said to him in " a low voice, masking with her fingers the light " of the lamp, 'Gently, go *gently*.' When he got " to the sleeping-loft ladder, he mounted; his knife " in his teeth; and coming to the height of the bed " —the poor young man stretched out and offering " his naked throat—with one hand he took his " knife, and with the other . . . . . Ah! Cousin, " . . . . . he seized a ham which hung to a " beam, cut a slice, and retired as he came."

In the army of Italy, Courier embroiled himself with two of his Generals. It may be generally remarked, that if a man's talents do not lead to success in his profession, they disquiet those persons within the range of their confined sphere, by envy, awe, or the exaction of deference to intellectual superiority—hence hosts of enemies arise; in some quarrel a fault will be committed, and the opportunity seized of getting rid of what is termed "a troublesome individual." In worldly prudence, it is much better for a functionary to be too small

than too great for his place: if he be too small, the place only suffers (which is the affair of that inconsiderable body the public); but if he be too large, he presses upon his petty neighbours, and inconveniences the ease of littleness. The moment a man raises the combined forces of mediocrity and folly against him, he is lost; for the thousands and the millions are then at odds with the units and the tens. The kingdoms of earth, like the kingdom of heaven, being mainly composed of the little children.

Courier's talents had not range in professional success, and their pent power was doubtless irksome to his superiors. Even in the English army, where gelding the mind has been brought to as great a perfection as gilding the jackets, we have remarked that extraordinary cleverness, once detected in inferior ranks, is almost uniformly unfortunate. A man's fortune must precede his deserts, which then look modest, and obtain the world's consent. As the best comment on a joke is, "any fool could have said that," so the remark of best promise on a man's actions is the familiar one, "I did not think it was in him." A secret underthought here prodigiously comforts mediocrity, for all the people of whom nothing is expected conceive things may be slumbering in their capacities, wanting only opportunity for their development. They adopt therefore a person of such unsuspected merit, and push him cordially forward to the top-

most pinnacle of fame. The Duke of Wellington's civil reputation has been materially advanced by this sentiment. The uninstructed chuckle, and rub their hands, and say, "See of what *we* are capable! A fig for knowledge!"

Exactly the opposite of this is the reception of wisdom, which has not wrought its advancement, which wants the acceptance of success, and is regarded as making a questionable demand on respect. In this best of possible worlds, a man's intellect is expected to correspond with his fortunes, and not his fortune with his intellect. To be wiser than one's *betters* (in the beautiful English use of that word) is a ruinous extravagance.

We have said that Courier embroiled himself with two of his Generals in Italy, and the cause of quarrel with one is an example in point of our remarks:—

"'One evening,' states our author, 'in the pre-"sence of some officers, I had the misfortune to "say to him these words: I think, General, that a "soldier cannot be at once artilleryman and dra-"goon, any more than dragoon and infantry, and "consequently that horse-artillery are mongrel "troops, organized under a false principle.'"

The pride of the General was absurdly identified with the utility of horse-artillery, and he accordingly furiously resented this frankly uttered opinion. Quarrels and grievances disgusted Courier, sufficiently impatient of his *vil metier*, to such a

point, that he sent in his resignation and left the service. But shortly afterwards, the desire, probably one of curiosity, to serve a campaign under the personal command of Napoleon, in the summer of 1809, and the temptation of an old friend's, General Lariboissiere's, appointment to a corps in the army of Austria,* induced him to proceed to Vienna, and beg his restoration, which was granted.

Here again he experienced only troubles and disappointments. He had calculated on a friend in Lariboissiere, and he found, he emphatically says, *a Count.* On this head, he states—

"I followed a General whom I had long known "for a good man and friend, and I believed him "such for ever; but he became a Count. What "a metamorphosis! The good man instantly dis- "appeared, and of the friend I saw no more; in "his place was a patron. I could never have "imagined, but for this proof, that there was so "much difference between a man and a Lord."

Of his vexations in the short period of renewed service, he gives an account of touching interest. The Xenophon of the French army experienced but sorry treatment. Having joined the corps of Lariboissiere, he says,—

"Some money which I expected for my equip- "ment having failed, I had recourse to General "Lariboissiere, to whom I had been known for

* The French thus styled their armies of invasion—the Army of Spain, the Army of Italy.

" some time. He had had the goodness to tell me
" that I could depend upon him for all for which I
" had occasion, and relying confidently upon that
" promise, I bought, at the price demanded, the
" only horse to be sold in the whole army. But
" when for the payment I thought to profit by the
" friendly disposition of General Lariboissiere, I
" found it changed. I kept the horse nevertheless,
" for a fortnight, expecting the remittance from
" Paris, which ought to have reached me. But at
" last the vender told me plainly, that he must
" have the money, or take back the horse. . This
" was on the 4th of July, about noon, when all
" were preparing for the action, which commenced
" in the evening. No one was disposed to lend
" me sixty louis, though there were several there
" to whom I had rendered similar services. Thus
" I found myself a-foot some hours before the
" battle. Besides that, I was very ill. The
" marshy air had given me, as well as many others,
" a fever, and not having eat for many days, my
" weakness was extreme. I crawled, nevertheless,
" to the batteries of the Isle Alexander, where I
" remained as long as fire was kept up. Generals
" came and gave me orders, and the Emperor
" spoke to me. I passed the Danube in a boat
" with the first troops. Some soldiers seeing that
" I could not support myself, carried me into a
" barrack where General Bertrand lay near me.
" In the morning the enemy retreated, and so far

" from being able to follow the Staff on foot, I was " not in a state to stand. The cold and the dread- " ful rains of that night had completely cast me " down. About three o'clock, some people who " seemed to be a general's servants, carried me to " a neighbouring village, whence I was taken to " Vienna."

On his recovery, he resolved again to withdraw from the military service, requested Lariboissiere to cancel any appointments that might be bestowed on him, and repaired to Italy and his beloved classical studies.

It is clear that Courier's temperament unfitted him for the sufferance of protection, and it is probable that he lost the friendship of Lariboissiere by some such uncourtier-like stroke as that which excited against him the wrath of the General of artillery.

The circumstances of his life after his final resignation, were the very highest distinction in classical literature; a happy marriage; but troubles in his private affairs, and troubles from interference with public ones. After the restoration of the Bourbons, and on the consequent attempt to revive abuses, and especially to raise the priestly authority to a tyranny perhaps worse than any before known, Courier became a political writer; his talent was at once recognized as of the first order, and, as its direction was to the popular good, he was marked out for persecution. Our author had lived in two

remarkable periods of oppression; the first, that of a despotism complete in power, and reposing in stern calmness on its conscious strength; the second, that of a dynasty struggling to maintain itself, and from sheer fear and sense of insecurity, betaking itself to severity, and grasping at the arms of tyranny. Under the first rule he was perforce silent, but the second provoked him to resistance. There is as much philosophy as wit in the following comparison of the two eras:—

"Robespierre, Barras, and the Great Napoleon, "had for more than twenty years told me to hold "my peace. Bonaparte, above all,—that hero "never deceived, never decoyed us with the liberty "of the press, or any other liberty. Somewhat "Turk in his manner, he threw his good people "into jails, but without beguiling them the least "in the world, and never concealing from us his "Royal ideas, which were always to hold as his "own our bodies and our property. About souls "he gave himself little concern: it was only after "his time that they made account of souls. De-"siring to speak alone, he imposed silence on us "first, and then on all Europe, and the world was "dumb. No one whispered, no one complained; "and with him there was this convenience, that at "least we knew what we had to do with. I like "this manner, and I have tried the other. The "Charter came; they said, 'Speak, you are free;

" write, print; the liberty of the press and all " liberties are guaranteed to you. What have you " to fear? If power is incensed, you have the " Jury, publicity, and the right of petition;—you " have your deputies too, elected, nominated by " yourselves. They will not suffer wrong to be " done to you. Speak just for experiment— " tell us something.' Poor I, thinking it all just, " opened my mouth, and said, 'So please you, it " is not my wish to pay for Chambord.'* At the " word, they take me, and clap me in prison. " Delivered from this affair, I could not persuade " myself but there had been some misunderstand- " ing. They must have misconceived me, thought " I, assuredly. A little common sense (rare " quality) would have sufficed to deliver me from " this error; but dreaming of the charter, and of " my guarantees, persuaded that they would hear " me without ill humour, I, this time, hazarded " another request.

* The proposal to purchase an estate, called Chambord, for the then baby Duke de Bordeaux, had been opposed by Courier in a pamphlet of consummate ability. Chambord-Palace jobs are not unknown in sturdy England; but we have no Courier. Here we are all loyal men, "*nous naissons valetaille*," and greatly glory in the Pimlicos and Windsors of a most graciously expensive Monarch. Apropos of Royal cost, how original a sentiment is this of Courier, he praises the Duke of Orleans for his economy! Did ever creature hear the like! as Lady Booby observes when Joseph Andrews lays stress on his chastity.

" 'If,' said I, holding myself in all humility, 'if " it were your good pleasure to let us dance on " Sundays before our houses.'

" 'Gendarmes, to prison with him—aggravated " punishment, &c. The Jury? a nullity. Right " of Petition? a joke. My Deputies? for me, as " the King's Prefect pretty nearly.'"

We must remark by the way, that Sunday dances on greens in France were as odious to the priesthood, and their tools in authority, as music in public-houses is to English Unpaid Magistrates. Courier, a friend to the people in the fullest and justest sense of that much misapplied phrase, defended their pleasures, and opposed his wit to the fanatical interference of the clergy. For this, as for other services to the community, he suffered all the vexations to which power could subject him. Having moved the mind of France by various productions, reaching and embracing very large principles through special instances exciting the attention of the public, he fell by the hand of an undiscovered assassin in April 1825. Though Courier's topics were ephemeral, his writings comprehend so many excellences of style, wit, sentiment, and reason, that they cannot fail to be read with instruction and delight, even when their temporary application has lost its interest.

We scarcely dare ask ourselves the question, what would have been the probable lot of Courier had he acted the part in England which gained for

him such signal celebrity and cheering sympathy in the neighbouring country? That he would have been called a fool in the *Quarterly Review* we may be sufficiently confident; but for the rest, we cannot form a conjecture. Who in England comprehends the merit of Sydney Smith?—a few little coteries of literati. Mention the name with honour in general society, and it will be asked whether the person alluded to is Sir Sydney.

There may be, as a contemporary contends, more reading in England than in France; but we are convinced there is more intelligence in France than in England; that is, implying by *intelligence*, the faculty of apprehension.

UPON THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1830.

We have closed the year ONE of the People's Cause. We have closed a year that has teemed with events of a grandeur and importance to mankind, unparalleled in the history of the world. We have closed a year in which Justice has wielded the sword of Victory, and Fortune lent her wheel to Truth. We have closed a year which has carried the mind of Europe forward an interval of ages beyond its antiquated trammels and

thraldoms. We have closed a year which has dated the decrepitude of despotism, and the Herculean infancy of the democratic power; and must not our recollections swell with pride, and our expectations be full of confidence? The past indicates the future. Abroad we have the example of France, both for imitation and for warning. Her people have set before us the great lesson of virtue—her Government of error. The Representative Government, which rests on a narrow constituency, is like the Logan stones, which the finger of a child may move. Reverse the position—place the cone on its broad basis, and a giant cannot stir it. The existing error our neighbours will redress; but the process is one that we wish could have been spared to their temper and virtue. If we draw too much, even on the wisdom of men, we must come to the lees. France has not done enough for herself, but she done enough for the world, and her after-troubles will not affect the force of her present example. The fault is as palpably marked as the passage of glory. The tyranny of one went down, and a hydra wriggled into usurpation. An oligarchy settled into power. The French Chamber of Deputies is now not much better than the British House of Commons.

It cannot be denied, that for the last ten years, step after step has been won by the liberal party, and not one inch of ground any where lost. We

have experienced no defeats"—we have been stayed, indeed, but never thrust back; and, despite of obstinate opposition, object after object has been attained. The Liberals struggled long for Catholic Emancipation. Catholic Emancipation was declared the destruction of Religion, the delivery of society to all the powers of evil, the unloosing of Anti-Christ and Satan. It was carried; and all the world perceived that the Liberals had been right. Nearly the same history applies to the Test Laws. The alteration of the Commercial System was demanded: the Economists were forthwith declared visionaries, and their doctrines were condemned, under the all-convincing description of "new-fangled,"—one of the most potent phrases in the English language. With the success of the experiments came the late acknowledgment, that the economists were not such fools as the ignoramuses had thought them.

Reformers complained of the abuses, defects, and vices of the laws. "The law is perfection," was the first defence; and the objectors were denounced as false preachers of discontent, the inveterate enemies of all the excellences in our unrivalled institutions; and yet Law Reform is now the great business of the day; and judges claim, and merit praise, for their application to the purifying of the Augean stable. Thus again, after all, the Reformers were right. Lastly, we come to the grand question.

Who were they who have for years past denounced the corruption of the Lower House, called for its re-constitution, and insisted on the people's right to representation as the only security against the abuse of power? Radicals, clamourers without cause, it was said; men void of truth and justice, who slandered an institution as perfect as the wit of man could make it, and which, whatever theoretical flaws might be objected by visionaries, worked excellently well in practice. Two years ago the Honourable House declared, upon a division, that there was no rotten representation. Less than two months ago, a Minister fell because he offered the same impudent outrage to truth. Now, the vast majority of society, Whig, Tory, and Moderates, acknowledge the necessity of Parliamentary Reform. So again the Reformers, after all, were right. Two years back, when Sir Robert Peel uttered a scoff at the Ballot, the collective wisdom received it with shouts of applause. Six months ago, Mr Brougham railed against secret voting at popular meetings, without provoking signs of displeasure or retort; but now the judgment of the country is for the Ballot. Men of all classes and denominations, not interested in the foul influences, are convinced that the protection of the voter is necessary to the freedom of the suffrage. So here again, it will soon be seen, that the Reformers were right, after all. Where are they yet said to be wrong? Only, we reply, upon the

ground where the battles are not yet fought out. They are said to be wrong, or wicked, or mischievous, for demanding that the franchise shall be co-extensive with the education and property of the country, and descending to the people as information is spreading among them. They are said to be wrong for objecting to an expensive Church Establishment, and for thinking that the wealth of the Priesthood is not apostolic or conducive to religion. They are said to be wrong, or wicked, or mischievous, because they think it unjust, and impolitic, to cramp the industry of a nation by Corn Laws for the supposed advantage of the landed proprietors. They are said to be wrong, or disloyal, and seditious, for supposing that the dignity of the Crown can be maintained without extravagant ostentation, and that the conduct of the chief magistrate is a better security for it than his cost.

They are said to be wrong, or to betray an ignorant impatience of taxation, for contending that it is the duty of a Government to raise the moral character of the people by knowledge, and that it is barbarous impolicy to place out of their reach, by stamp duties, the information which would teach them prudence and conduct. They are said to be wrong for arguing that it is cheaper and better to direct men with books, than to control them with bayonets, and that letters are more explanatory missives than bullets.

Under these, and a very few other imputations

of error, the Reformers may be cheered by reflecting that such opposition has been offered, for a season, to every measure (without any single exception) they have carried; and in relation to those objects we have recited, as well as to those already won, it will be confessed, at no distant day, that, after all, the Radicals were right.

We ask of our opponents to reflect on the many questions which the voice of society, and the acts of the State, have determined in our favour; and to consider whether it is not probable that we are as right, in the doctrines which remain unsettled, as in those now sanctioned and established? Have they not as much cause for self-distrust as the Reformers have for confidence?

Against what combined forces of sinister interest, custom and prejudice, have the Liberals made their impressions, and achieved their victories, by the vast power of truth alone! To the conviction of society, and to nothing else, do we owe our proud successes.

THE REFORM BILL.

MINISTERS have far exceeded our expectations. The plan of Reform, though short of Radical Reform, tends to the utter destruction of Boroughmongery, and will prepare the way for a complete improvement. The ground, limited as it is, which it is proposed to clear and open to the popular influence, will suffice as the spot desired by Archimedes for the plant of the power that must ultimately govern the whole system. Without Reform, convulsion is inevitable—upon any Reform, further improvement is inevitably consequent—and the settlement of the Government on the democratical basis certain. If we supposed that the plan before us could be permanent, we should declare it insufficient; but we have no such apprehension in an age of onward movement; and we hail it as a first step to a greater good, and as a first step abandoning an abhorred vice. It does not give the people all they want, but it takes the arms from their enemies. Like Sinbad, we have first to dash from our shoulders the "Old Man of the Sea," and afterwards to complete our deliverance. The plan is all good in its operation of breaking up the old system—its faults are in its constructive arrangements—and the

great deficiency, the omission of the Ballot. We have repeatedly asserted, and again declare our conviction, that no Reform is efficient without the Ballot; but it is not more certain that day will succeed night, than that, in the present state of the people's political knowledge, the Ballot will follow any measure that extends the popular influence on elections.

Upon that head we are quite easy. An increase of the constituency will only make the necessity for the Ballot practically felt by a greater body of persons annoyed by the influences, which are likely to be more pressingly exerted as the number of electors becomes more unmanageable. Truly was it observed by Mr Horace Twiss, that as long as temptation exists, as long as many poor men have something to dispose of, which some rich men are desirous to have, so long will corruption exist, whether the voters be few or numerous There is then no prevention of bribery or intimidation but in secret voting, which, by placing performance out of view, removes in the one case the only reliance upon which a knavish bargain can be made; and in the other case, renders the employment of threats certain of an effect opposite to the wish of the tyrant who should be mad enough to use them. With an extended constituency, bribes must proportionately fall, and authority will be the more exerted to make up for the weakened power of temptation. More violent attempts will

be made to drive those who will not be debauched, a number that is not likely to decrease with the decrease of the price of dishonesty. A demand will then rise for the Ballot, which will be irresistible. Lord John Russell memorably said, in the opening of his motion on the 1st:—"We "ought to look with deference to the opinions of "the people on a matter of grievance." The grievance then of corruption on the one hand, or oppression on the other, must be redressed, and such scenes avoided as are now shocking humanity at Stamford, and which will be multiplied when resistance to dictation is encouraged by a fresh infusion of popular spirit. The first election which follows a partial Reform in Parliament will make the necessity for the Ballot acutely felt by the whole community, and cause a demand for it that will not allow the Legislature to think of refusal. The people must know better than the Parliament where the mode of election pinches, and their unanimous report of grievance, and cry for remedy, must soon prevail.

So much for the grand deficiency in the Reform project; a deficiency, however, which is sure to be supplied, and which we cannot affect surprise at seeing in a plan that will have sufficient obstacles to encounter in adverse prejudice and interest, without the addition of a new pretence for alarm and objection. With all our attachment to the Ballot, we cannot blame its friends in the Ministry

for having attempted the first step in Reform unclogged with a proposition upon which much difference of opinion would fasten, and which would prove a source of contention among Reformers themselves, who sufficiently agree on other points of importance. The first object is to drive the common enemy from their guns—that accomplished,—the boroughmongers cast from 168 holds of power,—it will be time to consider the plan for fortifying political liberty.

The project of Ministers is chargeable with faults in detail; but the size, and general shape of it, indicate intentions which entitle them to respect and gratitude. In such a state as ours, compromises are hardly to be avoided, and as a compromise we must consider the addition of 54 members to counties whose representative force has hitherto been opposed to all improvement in our institutions. On the other hand, the representation of parishes and suburbs of London we regard as a feature of great merit. To the bold stroke, lopping off the disease, excising sixty cancerous boroughs, unqualified praise is due. The reduction of the members of the Commons House is a wise and beneficial measure; and we rejoiced to see it announced, with the remark of Lord John Russell, that when Parliament is reformed "there will not "be such a number of members who enter it "merely for the sake of the name, and as a matter "of style and fashion." Reform will bring with

it new obligations of duty, and charge the office of legislation with a grave responsibility, inducing anxious care and attention.

Lord John Russell's plan of the franchise proceeds upon the policy of admitting the middle classes to the constituency. We should like to know upon what principle he admits the middle, and stops short of the respectable classes of mechanics and artizans? We cannot but assume, that his Lordship only takes the pecuniary conditions of men as affording presumption of their education and intelligence; and, in this case, he would have done well to ascertain the state of knowledge of the working classes, before he fixed the franchise above the level of their means. If, as we must suppose, the signs of property are only taken as presumptions of intelligence, there is more question whether Dives, with a mansion rated at a thousand pounds a-year, should be qualified to choose legislators, than whether an artizan, with a cottage rated at five pounds, should be esteemed competent.

The position that interest is commensurate with property, is erroneous, as we have repeatedly endeavoured to show: for persons born to great fortunes are, from custom of enjoyment, and ignorance of any other state, least sensible of the value of wealth, and can with smallest inconvenience bear the shocks which mal-administration of affairs may give to property. The men who have the

most delicate interest in property are those who are tasting the sweets acquired by industry—who are much labouring to gain, and much fearing to lose, and whose slender means expand and contract with every change in the commercial atmosphere. It is a remark as old as Aristotle, that the nature of every thing is best seen in small portions: and it is especially true with respect to property. Would we present an example of the man whom property made a good subject—sympathising with the public interests, and profoundly concerned in its prosperity—we should select, not the man of thousands, but him who earns by industry his few scores or hundreds a-year.

A CONSTITUTION ACCORDING TO METAPHOR.

"REPRESENTATION, not Nomination," said Lord Grey, "is the principle of the Reform Bill." This principle so joyfully accepted by the Nation has, we suppose, been found too simple and intelligible for the purposes of his Lordship's colleagues in the Lower House; for they prefer defending the measure according to metaphor.

It is settled by both sides of the House, that the People are of two sorts, which may be likened to racers and asses—those that are disposed to go too fast, and those that are disinclined to move. The rate of speed is in proportion to the density of the population; and it is assumed, that such folks as those of Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, are invariably prone to run away, while those collected in smaller numbers, move more gently. All the dispositions of men are thus supposed to depend on their packing. Where they may be counted in hundreds of thousands, they would tear away and disorder; where they congregate by twos and threes, as at Gatton and Sarum, they are immovable to improvement. These premises being agreed upon by both Ministers and their opponents, nothing more is necessary than to suppose the State a vehicle to be drawn by such steeds, and at a moderate pace, and the whole question is debated, and may be settled according to metaphor. Nomination or Representation is now lost sight of; the question is too fast or too slow. Sir Robert Peel apprehends that the Representatives under the proposed system, will be men of tremendously active talent, and stimulate proceedings too precipitately. It is well, he says, to advance; but they may go too fast, in order to please their impetuous Constituencies. In this case, he asks, how elderly gentlemen, who like to ride slowly, will be suited with seats? and he points to Mr Sturges Bourne,

and puts it to Ministers whether such a steady-going gentleman would attempt to mount the high horses of Manchester, Birmingham, Marylebone, or Finsbury? To provide a supply of mules for such gaffers, Sir Robert modestly proposes that the places in Schedule B shall continue to seat their two members each, those places having populations which, from their moderate numbers, do not move too fast.

Lord John Russell, acknowledging the force of this too fast and too slow argument, takes credit to Government as,

"To populous places, they had not deemed it "fit to give that share in the representation to "which they would be numerically entitled, "because it was considered that a preponderance "of newly popular representatives in that House "might have the effect of making the machine of "State move with too great velocity. For this "reason, too, they had retained a number of small "boroughs."

We thus see clearly enough that the plan is to couple the racers with the asses and mules, lest they should move the State machine with too great velocity. One consideration only has been omitted in this philosophical view of the question, and that is the road or object upon which the machine is advancing. We know very accurately at what a rate the asses and mules rattled us down hill into the slough of debt, and the speed then was a mis-

chief; but if our present business is to escape from thraldom, who will object to the celerity of the movements. When people are flying from bondage, or the robber, they don't cry "why so fast?" and, "for the love of prudence, take out that free-going "blood, and harness a jack-ass for the safer "travelling."

Lord John Russell proceeded to say,

"They had stopped short in the career of dis- "franchisement. They had left a number of small "boroughs in Schedule B, which would send "Members to Parliament that would represent "certain portions of the people which ought to be "represented, and be most desirable acquisitions "in a deliberative assembly."

We cannot perceive for what reason the members of these particular places should be pronounced *most* desirable acquisitions in a deliberative assembly, except, indeed, as they are of the sort which does not move fast, the convenience of which, in a deliberative assembly is, at this instant, so strikingly felt by the people. None but members for places of such small Constituencies would move adjournments for the delay of public business. The Tories had delayed the Reform Bill, a few nights before, by moving adjournments, a power which can be so used as to stop the business of the legislature—it is thus that their tendencies against good speed are illustrated.

Lord John Russell thinks that the small places

of three hundred electors will send slow members to the House, who will be most useful for deliberation, and not nominees. We are convinced that without the Ballot, these places of low Constituencies will soon be so managed as to allow of nominations; and we saw, with great satisfaction, that several members objected that the disfranchisement was not sufficiently extensive.

As for the alleged deliberative virtues of the Representatives of small Constituencies, will Lord John Russell tell us when they appeared on the occasion of the imposition of any grievous burthen on the people, or of encroachment on their rights? Were the members of small Boroughs forward in the stand against the Six Acts, hurried, with such devilish speed, through Parliament? or did they signalize themselves by resisting the rapid accumulation of debt, and the profligate waste of the public money in sinecures and pensions for tools of tyranny, Court parasites, sycophants, and harlots?

Lord John Russell resisted the motion for continuing two members to places in Schedule B, as fatal to the principle of the Bill, but he did not support his argument with the very best reasons. It is too common a fault of our Ministers to assign weak reasons for the wisest course. They thus appear, as if either the hearts or their heads were not with the measure. They seem as men, ten thousand times more anxious to please their

enemies than to satisfy their friends.* What a luxury to them must have been their own opposition to their own proposition of the disfranchisement of Saltash! How they must have rejoiced in the temporary alliance, and the gratification of Croker! How they must have delighted in seeing the best friends of the people opposed to themselves! The pleasure of this yielding to the enemy must have been great indeed, as its principle and policy were obviously so vicious, or never would men have been tempted to it.

To avoid any infraction on the Bill (especially in its vitals), and preserve a habit of unanimity in the support of it, seemed the part of wisdom: but ministers have acted as if they had a superabundant perfection in their measure, and a troublesomely complete union in their camp—aye, and some hold on public opinion and support to spare. It doubtless was agreeable to them to see their best supporters arrayed against them as enemies, and to make those members who continued with them feel that they could depart from their pledges to the people, and keep their countenances and seats. Indeed, we suspect that Saltash was given up as much to show contempt of popular pledges, as in the hope of smoothing the Opposition by a surrender the more acceptable as it degraded its authors. One good effect it has had,

* Since the change in the Ministry, removing the evil genius Stanley and the other detrimentals, this fault has abated.

namely, that we learn, from the list of the minority, who are the 150 stanchest Reformers in the House. There is a proverb of giving inches to those who would take ells, which ministers might usefully heed.

It is not pleasant to censure men who have entered upon a grand service to society with great courage: but, great as was the courage, and excellent as was the spirit, at the commencement of the enterprise, both have been provokingly oozing as advance has been made, and exactly in proportion as real difficulties have been removed by the popular aid. Before the dissolution ministers were intrepid and uncompromising; since the general election has smoothed their course, they have shown timidity, and an abject disposition to court and propitiate enemies—only to be conciliated by the betrayal of the people and the basest dishonour.

While the patience of the country is so fretted, are we to listen to the preaching of Sir Robert Peel, who adopting a conspicuous and noted absurdity in Sir James Mackintosh's "History of England," tells us that constitutions have no other growth than that of vegetables; that they must "come by nature;" and that no wit or wisdom of man can create them for their uses? If an example were wanting to disprove such a position, we have it in the instance of the United States,

which modelled a constitution" in less time than, according to appearances, it will take the Grey government to pass a Reform Bill. This doctrine of the vegetable nature of a constitution admirably suits the "not-too-fast" principle, and allows of all the metaphors and similes touching the beneficial effects of manuring the soil with corrupt and rotten matter, so apt for the defence of boroughmongery. As Sir James Mackintosh has thus been quoted for delusion, we will quote him for instruction peculiarly fitted for the present juncture. The passage is on moderate reforms, and contradicts the vegetation theory:—

"Power vegetates with more vigour after these "gentle prunings. A slender reform amuses and "lulls the people; the popular enthusiasm sub-"sides, and the moment of effectual reform is irre-"trievably lost. No important political improve-"ment was ever obtained in a period of tranquil-"lity. The corrupt interest of the governors is so "strong, and the cry of the people so feeble, that "it were vain to expect it. If the effervescence "of the popular mind is suffered to pass away with-"out effect it would be absurd to expect from "languor what enthusiasm has not obtained. If "radical reform is not, at such a moment, pro-"cured, all partial changes are evaded and defeated "in the tranquillity which succeeds * * * What-"ever excellence, whatever freedom is discoverable

"in Governments, has been infused into them by "the shock of a revolution; and their subsequent "progress has been only the accumulation of abuse. "* * * * Whatever is good ought to be pursued "at the moment it is attainable. The public voice, "irresistible in a period of convulsion, is con- "temned with impunity, when dictated by the "lethargy into which nations are lulled by the "tranquil course of their ordinary affairs. The "ardour of reform languishes in unsupported "tediousness. It perishes in an impotent struggle "with adversaries, who receive new strength from "the progress of the day. No hope of great poli- "tical improvement (let us repeat it) is it to be "entertained from tranquillity; for its natural "operation is to strengthen all those who are "interested in perpetuating abuse.—The only "apparent exception to this principle (adds the "author in a note) is the case where sovereigns "make important concessions to appease discon- "tent and avert convulsion. This, however, "rightly understood, is no exception; for it arises "evidently from the same causes, acting at a "period less advanced in the progress of popular "interposition."—*Vindiciæ Gallicæ.*

Having mentioned Sir Robert Peel, we cannot quit him without remarking how wonderfully his tone is altered respecting public opinion. The time was when he declared that deference to pub-

lic opinion was the rule of the government. Now he says,—

"All his reading and experience convinced him "that nothing was more dangerous than *the aban-* "*donment of fixed principles*, and the disregard of "local attachments. He was much afraid that some "of the new Representatives would be too anxious "to recommend themselves to their constituents; "and that, instead of attending to the arguments of "reason, popular opinion, he would not say popular "clamour, would have too much weight with "them."

Sir Robert Peel has more experience than most men of the effect of abandoning principles; and he knows that the character of the conduct depends on the character of the principles, which may be good or may be bad. But, waving that inquiry, it is for Sir Robert to explain why he allowed so much weight to popular opinion when a Minister, and why he supposes it so dangerous now that he is a leader of faction—why it was so commanding when equivocally expressed on Catholic Emancipation, why so worthless when unequivocally declared for Parliamentary Reform? The truth is, that he who is at the helm soon discovers that he must trim his sails according to the wind. Power in a civilised country brings with it a lesson of respect for the governed, and a practical sense of the value of opposing forces.

POLITICS MADE EASY.

THE Debate on the Reform Bill has lost all interest. The judgment being formed, people are weary of listening to the arguments on the one side, and the pretences on the other. There has been much puerility, too, in the discussions. The task of correcting the errors of the Anti-Reformers is necessarily humble. The instruction must be level to the ignorance. The Primer of Politics has been laboriously expounded.

How pleasant it is to listen to the lessons of a Lancastrian Sunday School. "My good fellow," says a boy with tail to his coat to one of few years and many buttons, "I have undeniable "proof that Ireland is an island. Be assured that "there are four quarters of the globe. Heed not "those who say that there is a man in the moon. "The Arabian Nights are not historical. The "achievements of St George want confirmation "in the particular of the Dragon. Let me "demonstrate that if two and two be put "together, the amount will be four. You are "wrong in asserting that twelve times twelve are "sixty. The multiplication table *is* an authority "—it was not invented by Roger Bacon the con-

" juror—there have been no conjurors for eighteen " centuries; God don't suffer them now: juror is " not the short for conjuror. It is a vulgar error " that Frobisher shot the gulph of Florida with a " pistol—the representations at fairs are not to be " depended on."

Just a step above this have been the lessons in the chamber of the Collective Wisdom. Lord John Russell speaks an abridgment of the History of England; Mr Macauley quotes Lord Clarendon; Sir Robert Peel brings Cicero to bear on the Reform Question; Mr H. L. Bulwer advocates the Constitution which Montesquieu praised and Delome described; Sir James Mackintosh finds it necessary to prove that a trust is not a property; Sir Charles Wetherell says the elective franchise is not a property, in the usufructuary sense of the word, that being precisely the sense in which it has been practically made a property by his party. The elector whose vote is bid for and sold, is, however, very apt to suppose it a property in the 'usufructuary' sense, though that sense is not borne out by the reading of the laws, or the policy of the Constitution.

The state of understanding in the House of Commons may be inferred from the sort of instruction, which clever men find it necessary to give. The fallacy of mistaking coincidence for consequence—of supposing that when one circumstance attends others it must be the causes of them, *cum*

hoc propter hoc, might be assumed to be understood by a boy in his teens. But observe how the illustration of it is laboured for the benefit of the elderly gentlemen in the House of Commons, lest the Rotocracy should imagine, like the fly on the chariot wheel, that it has been the cause of the progress of society. Mr H. Bulwer remarks—

" The country grew up to pre-eminence under " its complex law, its wretched police, its gross " religious injustice. It increased in strength and " power under the servile Parliaments of the tyran- " nical Tudors, and let the Hon. Gentleman " remember, under the rule, equally arbitrary, of a " Protector. But are those calamities to which " we have been subject—are those circumstances " which may have been so many impediments to " our prosperity, to be considered as the only causes " of our good fortune? Certainly it has so hap- " pened that our poets have immortalized our " language—that our philosophers have added new " stores to the wisdom of the world—that our " navies have spread their dominion, and our " armies signalized their valour on the Continent " but does it follow, as a matter of course, that we " owe all this to one hundred and sixty gentlemen, " whom Providence has, from time to time, bene- " ficently sent to Parliament to represent a broken- " down wall—a rotten park paling, or a hundred " drunken pot-wallopers? Not that I mean to " say that those Honourable Gentlemen were idle;

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" on the contrary, while our men of science and " letters advanced our national knowledge—while " our armies and navies advanced our national " glory—it is but justice to add, that the one hun- " dred and sixty gentlemen in question were " almost as actively employed in advancing our " National Debt."

This is clever—clever instruction; but nevertheless, it is addressed to a gross stupidity. Thievery is of more ancient date than Boroughmongery—it is a custom almost coeval with the institution of property, and waits upon prosperity—where there is no wealth, no industry, there are no thieves; but those modest persons have not thence ventured to contend (*cum hoc propter hoc*) that they are causes of all the goods of this earth, and that if their nimble fingers were kept from our pockets, we should cease to have anything in them. We are decidedly of opinion that had the thieves the impudence of Boroughmongers, they might make out a better case. They would say, " Consider the " obligations of society to our tribe—reflect upon " the various advantages you have derived from " our craft. In morals, honesty is indebted for its " respect to us. In polity, the law and institutions " on which you so pride yourselves have, for the " most part, owed their being to us. But for us, " where would have been your great lawyers and " eminent judges? Survey your society, and see " how vast a portion of it is maintained for us,

" and would perish without us—your Magistracy, " your Bench, your Bar, your Attornies, and " Police. Without rogues, what would become " of all those worthy classes, and the persons em- " ployed therein? The ancients reputed the God " of Commerce also the God of Thieves; because " they saw that wherever there was thrift, there " were hands to pick and steal."

The case of the Boroughmongers is now as well understood as the case of the Thieves would be in an argument against justice; and Mr Brougham happily observed, that " when he heard the ques- " tion so often repeated, what do the people gain " by the Bill, he replied that they gained every- " thing which the Boroughmongers lost." Sir Charles Wetherell, on the other side, who is nearest to a sansculotte of any gentleman in parliament, is consistently full of fears lest the Bill should loosen the braces of the Constitution, and as he, with his customary felicity of expression, says, " *sansculottise*" it. If this be the effect, we are sure that Sir Charles will be the very first in the new fashion, for which he seems all his life to have been preparing. His inexpressibles have gone before the age in revolutionary tendency. He should be the last person in the world to talk of *sansculottising* with such horror. But it is natural that these people should speak of the *culotte* of the Constitution; for they have long had their hands in the breeches pockets,—the present sewing

up of which, they identify with the pulling down of every thing.

The affections will discover themselves: thus, when Sir James Mackintosh, referring to Mr Pitt's plan of Reform, said, "*his plan was to buy up,*" —at the words *buy up,* he was interrupted by the boisteorus cheers of the Opposition. '*Buy up!*'—there was music, chink of gold, in the sound. '*Buy up!*'—it struck the chord of venality in their hearts, and made their imaginations riot in the fancy of sale. '*Buy up!*'—it was to the Boroughmongers as the cry of land to the long absent mariner; as the cry of water to the parched traveller in the desert. It acted as a charm on the spirits before the reason could consider the probabilities; and the Tories cheered as though it was really proposed to buy them up. Some members called out, "*Money, money!*" in the wild joy of the moment. In an instant they were corrected; but the ruling passion had been called into expression by a sound, as lovers are moved to raptures by mention of a mistress's name.

The Bill is now secure in the Commons; and the question of interest is its treatment in the House of Lords. A great Constitutional problem is to be there worked out. If the Bill be thrown out, we shall experience the blessing of the balance in the estates in instant tumult. If new Peers are created to make up a majority, what then is the House of Lords but a power obeying the pleasure

of the Crown, and always to be directed by it, when the object is of a magnitude, for an extreme exertion of the Royal prerogative? It will be demonstrated that the second estate is a brewage of the first: a William infuses spirit of Reform, as a George, against a Reforming Commons, would have infused pus of Boroughmongery. If the House of Peers is in the last extremity to be managed by the Crown, people will be apt to ask why the Crown should not do that immediately, which it is privileged to do by contrivance; and whether there is not an institution to spare in the Constitution "which Montesquieu praised and Delolme described?" There is certainly no virtue in hereditary legislation, to cause a hesitation in the answer to this inquiry. The Peers are in a dilemma. We do not affect to regret it. But there is balm in Gilead—they may have a Reform. The English Peers of Parliament may be reduced in number, and elected as the Scotch and Irish are, but not for a longer term than three years. This arrangement would introduce, in some small degree, the principle of responsibility now entirely wanting. Be it remarked, that the House of Peers, as hitherto constituted, is the monstrous anomaly of a power utterly without responsibility. The power of the Peers is one inviting to negligence* or

* In no legislative chamber, but one constituted as the House of Peers, without accountability, could the practice of voting by proxy exist. There are Lords who are now carrying about a score of votes in their pockets.

abuse—a power without the necessity of qualification for the use, or responsibility for the abuse. These are opinions we have before expressed, and the time is giving them proof.

THE BOROUGHMONGERS NOT TO BE WHEEDLED.

Æsop tells us that, once on a time, a fox wheedled a crow out of a piece of cheese; but we have never heard that any arts of persuasion or cajolery redeemed any thing from the jaws of the fox. It is clear that we have not had a crow to do with. For months every tongue was employed in assuring it how much it was respected and valued, what a sweet pretty creature it was, and ever would be reputed to be, if it would only open its mouth and drop the morsel to which it had no right. It turned its tail, however, most uncivilly upon all solicitations, and showed itself a sort of animal that thought a good bit in the mouth better than any quantity of fair words in the ear. Our Ministers have obviously great reliance on their powers of persuasion. Of Lord Althorp it may be said, as *Mrs Hardcastle* remarked of *Tony Lumpkin*, "He would wile the bird from the tree:" but ah! not the fox from the goose. If he has not the

blandishment of oratory, he has the oratory of blandishment: but beasts of prey have no ear for civilities. We fear, we greatly fear, that wolves will never answer to the call of "Dilly, dilly, dilly, come and be killed," however sweet may be the accent, or urgent the propriety.

When children commit errors, the parent's consolation is, "They will have a little more sense when they get older." This seems to have been the calculation with respect to the Peers. Though already the wickedest old body in the world, it is supposed "they will know better" in three or four months. When the sight of a venerable Bencher of the Temple failed, at the age of ninety, notwithstanding all the resources of art, he tranquilly remarked, that he believed he must leave it to time. We fear that time will not do more for the sight of the Peers than it did for our aged friend. They have had all encouragement in their obstinacy. Before they proved malcontent, they were assailed with flattery on the one hand, and menaces of destruction and creation on the other. The have proceeded to the extremity; they have insulted and defied the nation, denied its rights, and spurned its claims, and they have experienced none of the menaced consequences. The worst that is to happen to them is to be tried again. Can we wonder should they begin to be of opinion that threatened men live long. Great escapes give cowards confidence.

The cry of wolf has proved a false alarm, and the proverbial false security will follow on it; all warning will now be laughed at till the terrible reality appears.

Our contemporaries are beginning to have their doubts, whether Ministers can catch Peers by salting their tails. There is but one example in point of their practice, and the success of it is uncertain —it is that of a Frenchman, who advertised a powder for killing fleas. A gentleman, troubled with a large majority of these tormentors, having in vain spread the bait, reproached the quack for his deception. The man coolly asked how the specific had been applied? and having heard, answered, "O Sare, but dat is quite wrong—first "you catch de leetal flea, den you take him and "hold him by de nape of his neck till he gape; "den you put a grain of de powder down his "trote—an den you let him run, and perhaps he "bite you no more."

Ministers have had the flea by the nape of the neck, gaping, aye, and with the whole country open-mouthed too, and they put a grain of love-powder down the throat, and let it run, and perhaps it will bite them no more—but perhaps it will. Our adversaries have natural allies in all the calamities that can visit mankind. On war they have always fondly reckoned. Pestilence they hailed as "*a diversion*:" and cholera seems to have landed, as if by friendly invitation, almost on Lord

Londonderry's threshold. There is nothing to the minds of these men comparable in horror to honesty. The fabled shriek of *Mandrakes* torn out of the ground, expresses their supernatural agonies at being torn from the pockets of the people. Their attachment to plunder has absolutely something of the romance of passion in it, and when the struggle is over, we shall expect to see it illustrated in acts of *felo de se*, or deaths by melancholy; and celebrated in tales and tragedies. Goethe has made a most affecting story of one man's love for another man's wife; and we really do not see why as much may not be made of one man's love for another man's money. This is a passion which we know never cloys, but grows with what it feeds on, and the disappointment will not be the less bitter after possession. As all the pernicious desires in their wildest indulgences are celebrated by poets and novelists, we think that the avarice of Boroughmongers, which has had such tremendous effects on the state of a great people, is well worthy of a tale, an epic, or a tragedy. We, as yet, want examples of the appropriate manner of catastrophe; but, as these worthies boast to be more of antique Romans than of Danes, we shall expect soon to read in the *Morning Post*, that, "yesterday a large party took poison with Sir Robert Peel;" that the Duke of Newcastle has thrown himself on his sword at Clumber; that the Duke of Wellington is pining

with a green and yellow melancholy; and that his Grace of Cumberland has taken to his (*own*) bed, and died. These things, seasoned with sentiment, the distress kept well in view, and the character of its causes artfully suppressed, may be worked into as moving a story as the "Sorrows of Werter." The "Sorrows of Newcastle!"—how well it would sound, opening with a bread-and-butter description of a Borough, and ending with the loss of all fat things! But having thrown out the idea, we leave it to be worked out by persons who have the befitting genius for the pathetic.

THE PEERS AND THE REFORM BILL.

"It was necessary to fix a choice: either to abandon entirely the privileges of the people, or to secure them by firmer and more precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them."—*Hume's England.*

It suits not our principles or our practice, to deal in political cajolery. We do not attempt to persuade the Lords that to pass the Reform Bill will confirm them in their power and privileges, but we think we can show that it is the course attended with the least detriment to their body. The ascendancy of the house is in any case gone, and

the only question with it should be, how it can preserve to reduced power the largest share of public respect, and spare the *prestige* of its authority any trials that might rudely dissipate it.

The Peers have now only to consider, whether it is best to make a saving sacrifice of a part, and the usurped part, of their power; or to be overruled by the crown; or to be renounced by the people. Will they relish a creation, reversing the scales of majority and minority at the royal pleasure, and demonstrating that their House can always be made to obey the will of the crown? Can they think that such a treatment as this will the better enable their House to bear up against the renovated popularity of the Commons? Will the body diluted to fulfil the pleasure of the crown, find a favourable comparison with the body strengthened by the representation of the people? Will it remove the fear of democratic domination, to leave ministers no choice, but to work the reformation of the Commons through the infirmity of the Lords? —to make the king's command of one house, accomplish the people's control of the other, thus causing it to be impressed upon the public mind, at the same instant, that as the Commons' House is rendered representative of the nation, the House of Peers is proved subject to the crown.

Would it consist with the policy of the Peers to drive matters to these demonstrations, serving to sink them in the balance, precisely as they pro-

fess to dread. It is clear that the peers might be increased in numbers by the expedients for reducing them to subserviency, till they became a mob of mingled aristocrats and courtiers, as utterly incapable, as unworthy of legislative functions. We believe, that the power of creation is one which ministers of aristocratic affections would be extremely reluctant to use, as they must be well aware of its effects, especially in the present state of the public mind; but there are other more pressing dangers on another hand, and if it seems that we are driven to such a pass, that mischief must fall somewhere, the choice will be, that the injury shall light where it has been provoked; and what is the discredit of the House of Peers, compared with the peace of the country, the content and security of the people? To uphold the respect of an institution, is an object only so long as the institution works beneficially; when it counteracts its ends, and becomes embarrassing to the state, and dangerous to the common weal, it matters not how soon the public estimation of it is lowered to its just deserts.

But it is possible that the crown will shrink from the exercise of the power that is in it—that it will timidly refuse recourse to a constitutional expedient which would, in the most striking way, show the falsehood of the constitutional creed. The Trinitarian doctrine would be exploded by the practical lesson, that King and Lords are one, and

the boasted balance of the three powers (convertible into two) delusion. This is what all thinking men know; but it has never been brought home to popular conviction by any remarkable example. Hitherto the Lords have moved their puppets in the Commons, and controlled it; and so long as they had a fixed hold on the Lower House the King could not venture to overrule them by his prerogative of creation; but the sceptre recovers its functions, in effecting the emancipation of the Commons. The body so long ascendant over King and People must take its turn of depression. The representation of three powers, exercising dependent wills is, indeed, purely fable. Some two must always prevail against the third; when the two happen fortunately to be the crown and the representatives of the people, good government is safe in exact proportion to public intelligence.

Suppose, however, when it comes to the point, that ministers hesitate to infuse their will into the Lords through the prerogative of creation—suppose they decline to swamp the Peers, as it is termed, or to destroy the character of the House by a preponderating addition of men of right opinions and good purposes. In this event we come to the third consideration—the part of the People. Acting on the resolutions and votes of the House of Commons, and the principles of the constitution, they will refuse obedience to unauthorised taxation; but

how, it is asked, will this affect the Lords?—it is readily granted, that it will disorganise the government, but not seen, by some, how it will act in the way of peculiar punishment or reformation on the causes of the mischief. The answer is that disorganization will be followed by re-organization, and that the public enemies would not be reinstated in a power which had proved so mischievous and unmanageable. If we are driven to revolution, revolutions are governed by their own laws, which are expediencies.

But (it is objected) the Peers, should they reject the reform bill, will exercise an undoubted right. Our reply is, that if they exercise their undoubted right to the people's undoubted wrong, their right is revoked by the first principle of social policy. We are not to be the dupes of words and forms. The legitimacy of means is to be tried with relation to objects. Upon extreme occasions, involving the peace and prosperity of an empire, we must apply this criterion: in ordinary cases, authority is left undisturbed and undisputed, even while it errs, as the inconvenience of raising the question of its fitness would be greater than that of submitting to an occasional fault: but when a great power of the state works the wrong way, and impedes the right working of another power of equal or greater moment, we are not to be satisfied with the argument that, however mischievous its action is, it is to be unresistingly en-

dured, as it is established or constitutional. If the frame-work of the constitution works against the intention of the constitution, it is to be amended or rejected. We remember to have seen a steam-boat on its first trial make stern way with its wheels in full motion;—the engineer was not so mad as to contend that, because the wheels were turning, the action of the vessel could not be wrong, nor did he insist that it was the immutable constitution of her to take the opposite course to that desired; but she was laid up, and the fault searched for and corrected.

If the Lords tell us that there is nothing wrong in the constitution of the Commons, self-confessing corruption, and requiring remedy, the answer will be that there must be something yet more wrong in the constitution of the Lords, and more pressingly requiring reformation.

The people have cried "We do not elect the men styled our representatives." The Commons' House has said, "We are not elected by the people who ought to be our constituents." Is it competent to the Lords to set aside as worthless the evidence of both parties concerned, and to decide that the representatives of Gattons, and Sarums, and other rotten boroughs, shall be the representatives of the people of England? Shall a handful of individuals continue to purchase the power of taxing, and through it, of trafficking in the misgovernment of this great nation, because it is the pleasure of

the House of Lords? Can it be doubtful which way the contest will be decided, if it be brought to a question between the misrule of millions of people and the authority of four hundred Lords? Submission to so naked and insolent a tyranny would want any shreds of plausibility to comfort the degraded in their subjection. There is a state of thraldom so low and vile, that the victims themselves would fain recognize excuses for it. When four hundred decree injustice to four times four millions, some better apology than custom of authority is wanted for obedience.

When first corruption crept into the House of Commons, had the Lords, fulfilling their conservative functions, lamented the innovation, and required a return to the purer system of representation; and had the Commons denied the impeachment, and resolved that there was no occasion for change or reformation, the case would not have been of such scandal and audacious defiance of truth and justice as that on which we are now speculating; for the Commons could have alleged that they most intimately knew the state of their own house, and must be better able than the Lords to determine whether it consisted with the principles and purposes of its institution. But, in the present instance, there is *reus confitens*—the accused confessing, and the confederate denying the evidence. The adultery is avowed by the fair penitent, and the gallant protests it is all purity,

and insists on the continuance of the illicit connexion undisturbed.

If the House of Lords should set itself against truth, justice, and the peace and well-being of the nation, on what has it to rely? A hereditary legislature has no deep roots—it is not planted in reason; its safety is in custom and harmlessness. As of all our powers it is the most difficult to reconcile to reason, so of all our powers it should, for its own safety, be most careful to avoid opposing itself to reason; which will, if provoked to hostilities, deal roughly with its title. The best that can be said of the House of Peers is, that it works better than *à priori* could be supposed possible: the worst, that it works as it is rumoured to be about to work. Institutions are instruments for national benefit; let them be found antagonist to that object in a matter of vital moment, and society retakes into its hands the formation of laws for the redress of the disorder. There is nothing holy or magical in the institution of the House of Peers; there is nothing rare in the composition of its body, or wonderful in the execution of its duties. The chances of birth and bad education have given us an assembly of elderly self-willed persons whose intelligence is not as eminent as their authority. A nation might exist without them, or shape a fitter power with less inconvenience than it could suffer theirs if abused. Many of the Peers doubtless do commit the mistake of supposing that the

dignity of their house is a reason for its existence on any conditions; and that without a public use, or with a public injury, it would necessarily be maintained for the grand ends of the pride and pageantry of its members. They will soon find, if they put the matter to proof, that this is an infatuation of conceit. The people are resolved to be governed for their own benefit, and not for the benefit of the Lords—except as it is included in the common weal.

It is fallaciously supposed that in the event of the defeat of the reform bill, people would be withheld from the extremity of resisting unauthorised taxation, by regard for the administration; which would be exposed to the shock. This consideration would not have much force. The ease of a few friends is not to be balanced against the rights of a nation—and it were unreasonable indeed that the people, from gratitude to the government which endeavoured to deliver them from bondage, should resign themselves to bondage. From respect for ministers the object will not be foregone for which ministers are respected. Principles are not to be trifled with; they are not to be waived and resumed; if once in abeyance, the vicious practice that slips in obtains the force of precedent. The country has long been taxed by a rotten Parliament; but never before did a Parliament avow its rottenness, and the fact was stoutly denied. A question, cob-web though it was, hung

between the nation and the fact of its wrongs; that question is now swept away—the House of Commons declares its unfitness, confesses that it is not representative of the people, consequently that its constitutional right to impose taxes is gone. Is it in mortal patience for a people to re-submit themselves to wrongs so authoratatively proclaimed; did they so, all they have before groaned under would be light, compared with the load of oppression that would follow such proofs of base endurance; the aristocrat would say in his heart, "Whereas my father did lade you with a "heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father "hath chastised you with whips, but I will chas- "tise you with scorpions." But this is a patience not to be reckoned on in Englishmen. We have evidence of what their blood was capable of in the American colonies; which having commenced with the firm resistance of unauthorised taxation—taxation without representation—ended not before they had flung off every trammel of dependence, and formed the fairest constitution which the world has yet seen. One dominion has been lost—one republic has been made—in the attempt to compel submission to taxation without representation. Let the oligarchy be warned.

In these remarks we have speculated on the worst event, because we are convinced that preparation for it will command the best terms. The

Lords will be reasonable in exact proportion as the people are resolved.

Upon whatever turn of events we speculate, the Peers seem beset with discredit. They have blustered too much, and now they cannot act up to their menaces without danger, nor abandon them without shame. After all the threats of destruction to the Bill, prudence will be construed pusillanimity. Had the Peers carried a lower sail they would now find their bark in safer trim. They have fixed a nation's angry expectations upon them —and if they realize them, comes convulsion; if they falsify them, derision follows. It is ill, indeed, when men commit themselves with such curious infelicity that they cannot act right without incurring contempt for a despicable motive. But this is ever *Bobadil's* fate—if he is peaceable after all his bluster, the world will have him pusillanimous, and cut-throat in soul, though lamb in action.

The notion entertained by the Lords that the desire for Reform has died away, is an indication of the soft character of their understandings. It is true that the manner in which ministers carried the Bill through the Commons' House, divested the debates of all interest, or rather substituted a disgust; but the object was not the less valued because the method of pursuing it was so provokingly imbecile. Latterly, the best friends of the measure could not endure to read the debates in

committee, and their calm suspension of attention was idly construed the abatement of interest. When Hagar turned her head away from Ishmael in the desert, was it that her affection had ceased, or that she could not bear to see the death of the child? Reformers turned away, not bearing to see the treatment of the child.

Miserably as the measure crept on, it did advance, and therefore the people quietly awaited the issue. Anxiety is the period for demonstrations; but because demonstrations ceased as assurance of success had prevailed, it was foolishly inferred that interest had decayed. The thing floats smoothly on the favouring current; but let it come to a check, and the roar and foam of the tide will mark the power of the stream that has borne it on. A prosperous cause is always calm. The ripple comes with the opposition.

THE REJECTION OF THE REFORM BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

[The Lords threw out the Reform Bill in the morning of the 8th October 1831, and the following paper was written on the same morning, which happened to be that of publication, in the

excitement produced by so bold a defiance of public opinion. The heat of the moment is to be remembered.]

THE Lords have justified our expectations. The Bill is strangled by a majority of 41. The Ministry must be constant and bold, or it will have all to answer for. The King, we are assured, is firm. A prorogation may instantly be expected. To Government, we say, "Strike fearlessly!" or another power may strike wildly. Safety is now in boldness. There is nothing to fear but mistimed and misplaced timidity. Meanwhile let us be of good cheer.

If we had ever said a good word for the Peers, if we had encouraged any wild hopes of their sense or justice, we should now repent it; but our conscience acquits us of any such indiscretion. We have never professed a love for their power in the State; we have never pretended to discover any utility in it; we have never believed that a passion for liberty runs in the breed; we have never protested that the respect and authority of their House would be permanently secured, if they would do the poor supplicating nation the small favour of passing its modest Bill for parliamentary emancipation, the destruction of the electioneering slave trade, and the restoration of the people's notorious rights. A reverence for an hereditary legislature seems properly contemporary with a belief in

witches and wizards. The qualities of birth and broomsticks should be pretty well understood at our advanced age. We have thought that the best thing the House of Lords could do would be to show itself harmless; and that as Pericles said of the women of Greece, their praise should be, that they gave no occasion or handle to be spoken of. Instead, however, of drawing the decent veil of cobwebs about their chamber, they have thrust it into importance by insult and injury to society. It is the house of mischief. It is full of mephitic air; and the instant any good thing passes into it, it falls down lifeless. It behoves the Ministry to drench it with a purifying stream of fresh Peers.

Ministers will not be deterred by the size of the operation they have to perform, for in this vain hope the majority has been raised to its unexpected number. The efforts of Government must be proportioned to the efforts of the enemy, and to whatever extent they go, they are sanctioned by every principle of policy, as necessary to counteraction, and the preservation of the public tranquillity. It would be of pernicious example indeed, were the extremities of faction to secure their success, because the Prerogative is too delicate to carry its remedy as far as the disorder. For Constitutional modesties the safety of the Constitution is not to be hazarded. The creation of a hundred Peers (were so many necessary) is not to be weighed against the peace of the Country. It is

surely better to make titles than to destroy men. This is not a conjuncture for scruples. If the Lords be not increased in number by a few scores, they may chance to be reduced below figures.

What could we do without the Lords? Suppose, by any strange calamity, they were passed away, would any club in London furnish an equal amount of wisdom, disinterestedness, and knowledge of the world? Would Crockford's be as virtuous, would Boodle's be as bright? How, but by taking any four hundred men at random, could we find a better qualified assembly? And even by that constitution, we might chance to miss the inquiring mind of Londonderry, the benevolent spirit of Eldon, and the etherial essence of Winchilsea—as for the eloquence and perspicuity of Wellington, we might seek in vain for it in a crowd, unless we took a haul from the Deaf and Dumb Asylum. If this plan should be disapproved as too violent an improvement upon the old thing, suppose Harrow or Eton were made an Upper House—they would give us a better debate and more convincing scraps of Latin.

Is it expected we should be in despair—our cat wringing her hands, our tone a tragic blubber, our talk of woe, our song the green willow, and—saddest extremity of journalist's grief—our paper edged with black? No such thing. The nation exists; Truth is not suffocated: Justice is not puffed out by the breath of the Lords. A couple

of hundred Peers are against the people. A man may see this without being scared. Various remedies occur. A grand commission of lunacy, under the writ of the Chancellor, might dispose of the difficulty, and adjourn the House to Bedlam. Less wild opinions than those expressed of rotten boroughs, and the destruction of the Constitution, for the second time within three years, have placed many a man under the care and constraint of his next of kin. Or, as a breath has made them, and a breath may make, the King may create the whole nation Peers, if he be so minded; and a show of hands will then do the business. Seriously, we are come to this point, that either the King or the People must take the Peers in hand, and the King can do it with the least shock to the habits of order and obedience. No time, however, should be lost now that the necessity is clear. Nothing was gained, something of effect lost, by the delay in the dissolution of the late Parliament. The creation should be prompt, and the public peace will be secured.

The speech of Lord Grey, in our opinion, the ablest exposition that has yet been made of the character and principles of the Reform Bill—induces us to reckon on the firmness and spirit of Ministers for the tranquil removal of all difficulties. His Lordship pledges himself to stand or fall by Reform, to use all the legitimate means in his power for the success of it, and to accept of no less

efficient measure. He will then stand,—a creation will overbear the wilful opposition, and the Lords must abide by the consequences of their own obstinacy in wrong. Their House will suffer a heavy shock, wherever it has hitherto retained its credit, but the country will be spared recourse to measures, that however justifiable upon the occasion, and effective in operation, leave dangerous tracks of disturbanee behind them, which may be followed on less worthy provocation.

Lord Grey's pledges of perseverance should not abate the exertions, alter the resolutions, or suspend the organization of the people; who, while they continue to prepare for the worst, will, however, see the fitness of abstaining from any action that may embarrass the Ministry in the performance of its promised part, or place it antagonist to the Reformers, for the preservation of the public peace. The time for the experiment will not be a long demand on patience. No postponement can be suffered, and it will soon be seen, whether Ministers are stanch or not. The policy is not implicitly to confide in them, but to leave open to them a fair field for fair intentions.

The arguments (so to call them) of the Lords may be very shortly described.

The substance of them all is, that the system is excellent, that the proposed change is a wantonness, and yet that some change is necessary, and must be granted. This is an inconsequence which

we are not called upon to reconcile to plausibility. If the system works so unobjectionably as is alleged, why is a moderate, or bit-by-bit, or little-as-need-be Reform, necessary?

The moderate, bit-by-bit, and little-as-need-be party, have not made out a case to justify their delicate reform. They admit no abuse—they find the most essential virtue in the nomination boroughs—they perceive the greatest mischiefs in extending the influence of the people. Where then do they propose to edge in a Reform? As the thing, according to their showing, is unobjectionable in respect of rottenness; the object of a moderate Reform should be the abatement of popular influence wherever it exists. There should be a schedule A for Westminster, and an enfranchisement of some sticks and stones on Tory estates. Lord Harrowby has indeed indicated the principles which would guide his party in the concoction of a Reform. He argues, that the people are not competent to judge of the conduct of public men, because, quoth he, they are not competent to judge of the measures, by an understanding of which, the merit of votes or opinions must be estimated. His Lordship might as reasonably contend, that people could not judge of an effect without comprehending the process that has been necessary to it. We have no doubt that Lord Harrowby knows whether he has reason to be satisfied with his attorney, and yet he could not

judge of the fitness of his various proceedings in a suit, or pretend to comprehension of points of law and technical niceties. A passenger in a ship may form a notion of the skill, or the unfitness of a captain, without knowledge of navigation. All the persons who venture to trust their lives to coachmen, are not whips; and yet they will have the presumption to hire and discharge, as if they critically understood driving. Should not certain lords and gentlemen have the power of taking this dangerous choice out of the hands of the uninstructed, and nominate the Jehus?

We mention this doctrine of Lord Harrowby, not as it deserves controversy, but as it indicates the nature of the Reform which he and his party might, in their great goodness to an unreasonable people, think it proper to grant. The whole question of representation is disposed of by his dogma,—for the sages qualified to elect, by their profound skill in measures, would hardly amount to the number of the House of Commons.

Lord Wharncliffe takes a broader ground; and observes, that if the Reform Bill passes, there will be an end of the State Trinity; for the three estates could not co-exist, and one must submit. This his Lordship remarks, without being disturbed by the perception, that the Lords have for years had a ruling influence in the Commons; and that the evil he contemplates, would only be a change from the depression of the Commons to the depres-

sion of the Peers. We believe that these bodies must always have the invidious lot of two buckets in a well,—and, that as one goes up the other must go down. The people's house has been down long enough to fetch up Truth from her proverbial retirement.

But what if Lord Grey wants power to turn the windlass,—the thing may fall out of his hands; and in that case it falls into the people's. We care not a rush for the consequences to the Lords, and are only anxious for the right action of the nation. Its powers are great, and we trust they will be discreetly, soberly, and firmly wielded. Its ultimate success is certain; and we hope its temper will be as calm as its purpose deliberate and fixed.

A hundred thousand men, assembled at Birmingham, have held up their hands in token that should Reform be denied, they will refuse the payment of taxes. This resolution obviously made a strong impression on the minds of the Peers. It was a manifestation of purpose out of the course of Lordly observation. The resolution of a hundred thousand men is not to be collected in Bond street or St James's street, and Lord Wharncliffe would not have found it in a shop.* The idea of a hundred thousand hands held up in expression of a resolution, is fearfully suggestive of the hundred-

* Lord Wharncliffe stated, that he had formed his notions of public opinion from the sentiments of the tradesmen in fashionable streets.

thousand power to support it.... These are the hands, too, that fight with the heat of the furnace, and make yielding as wax the iron that is the tyrant's argument and reliance. But these are not all—Birmingham, with all its might, is but a part, and a small part, of this united people. Its voice is but a breathing of the common spirit. Its language is but a sample of the general sentiment. It is almost piteous to see how men, whose world is Bond street and St James's street (whose Dionysius's ear is a fashionable shop), propose to deal with such awful warnings. They prate of capital felonies and treason, and Lord Eldon reproaches the Law Officers of the Crown for not having prosecuted the multitude, who, by holding up their hands, assented to the resolution for the resistance of taxation. "Give me a quart bottle," said the madman at Niagara, "and I will draw off, and cork up, this noisy water!—what is it but a collection of drops?" A hundred thousand traitors would, indeed, make a State Trial—that is, a trial of the State, that would be pretty conclusive. The alacrity with which the Lord Eldon sprung up to preach the rigours of the law, is characteristic of the man—instinct with mischief, and who is sure to be called into activity by any opportunity of injury or vexation to society.

It is a grand principle of the Constitution that representation is essential to taxation, and the confessed rottenness of the representation vitiates the

authority. Though warranted by the letter of constitutional law, we would not break the bands of obedience so long as there is a prospect of obtaining the desired end by more safe and tranquil means: but if that prospect be closed, the people know their course, and will take it with the courage and constancy that wait upon forbearance nobly exercised and cruelly exhausted.

Since the tyranny of the Stuarts, has it ever been pretended that Hampden's resistance of taxation was an unconstitutional extremity? The pliant Judges, sure foes of liberty in all times, decided that the resistance was illegal; but did their arbitrary sentence decide the question, and has not the judgment of the world reversed the decree, and affirmed the illegality of the exaction, and the constitutional right and patriotic virtue of Hampden's resistance? The taxation Hampden resisted, was the unauthorised taxation of the Crown; the taxation the people of Birmingham threaten to resist is, the unauthorised taxation of Parliament. Hampdens in our time would be visited with the denunciation of Lord Eldon; and Lord Eldon in the time of Charles would have largely contributed to the destruction of the Monarch and the Monarchy. The error which we are endeavouring to correct as to the character of resistance of taxation, in the event of the denial of Reform, has been greedily seized upon by our antagonists, who say that a power is arrogated above the law, and mut-

ter of rebellion. We reply that all turns upon the authority of the law, and that a distinction may as properly be taken in the nineteenth century between acts of parliament and law as in the seventeenth between commands of the Crown and law. Had not the people of Paris risen against the ordinances of July 1830, those ordinances would have passed for law, and the dissatisfied would have been stigmatised and punished as rebels, but the French discriminated between the commands of an established power, and its authority to issue them. They arrogated no power above the law, when they resisted the proclamations; and, were Reform hopeless, the people of England would arrogate no power above the law, in resisting taxation without representation.

The House of Commons would, indeed, arrogate a power above the law of the Constitution, and the source of its own authority, if, without purging itself of its corruptions, and restoring its representative character, it attempted to impose taxes. The people, in resisting such an usurpation, would act according to the letter and spirit of the Constitutional principle. The revolution is said, with much pretence of terror by our adversaries, to have commenced; but it began not with the measure of Reform, but with the usurpation of Boroughmongery; it was then that the provisions of the Constitution were set aside, and the authority of Parliament vitiated, and the rights of the

people spurned, when individuals, by corruptions of the purse, and in violation of the laws, possessed themselves of the legislative power without the legislative warrant of representation.

Then it was that Constitutional securities were flung down, and the people given up to plunder. Then it was, that the furtive Aristocratic Revolution had place, rendering up the many to the pillage of the few. What is now miscalled Revolution, is Restitution—it is the stripping of the thief, which the knave calls robbery.

It were a grievous error for the people to mistake the last stand upon their rights for the occupation of a ground beyond them. The resistance of taxation is not an expedient to be preferred; but it is one to which the nation may be compelled, if the reformation of the Commons be not presently accomplished.

DELICATE STATE OF GOVERNMENT.

BETWEEN the plague of the House of Lords and the pestilence, the public mind has been kept in a seasonable horror this grim month. If one alarm subsides, another immediately springs up. If the accounts from Sunderland are more favourable, the reports from Brighton are "such as to excite the

most serious apprehensions." „If the pestilence remits, the Cumberland influence, the epityrannic, instantly becomes ascendant. If our bowels seem for a moment safe, the frame of society is threatened with convulsion; if health improves, the Constitution falls into danger! Scarcely have we thanked Heaven that our stores from the apothecary, the laudanum, the opium, the calomel, the capsicum, are likely to be useless, when we are advised to lay in munitions of war against the Boroughmongers—or, in default of fear of them, a pauper rebellion is threatened. Fright is the order of the day. It would be pleasant now to hear some one vapour of "confidence in Ministers," and "standing by Lord Grey." But there is, at present, more of lying than of standing in the town talk. Nothing can give an idea of the terror of the times, but that prophetic chaunt of Gaffer Thumb, as he rises through the trap-door to the horrified King Arthur,

> "Pale death is prowling,
> Dire omens scowling."

Ending with that too apposite passage,

> "Grizzle's rebellion,
> What need I tell ye on."

Pray Heaven the sequel complete not the parallel; but it is said, and believed in certain quarters, that our Tom Thumb will be swallowed up by a red cow, if he have not been actually swallowed

up already. As ours, however, is not the age of Merlin, we have very serious doubts, whether there is a cow of any colour in the land of a capacity to swallow the nation's champion; and, indeed, we are disposed to go farther, and to argue that what the "horned cannibal" can swallow, could not be "our England's Annibal." To drop appropriate imagery, derived from tragedy burlesqued, and to address ourselves literally to the rumours of the week—it has been reported, that the Ministry is tottering, that it wants the powers necessary to its purposes,—in a word, that the Royal support fails it.

It is not the first time that we have heard this doleful story. The fact is, that from the very hour of their entering on office, the adherents and partizans of Ministers have delighted in giving out, that they are not long for this Downing-street; that they are very feeble in some quarter or other; that their improvements have outgrown their strength, that they are too good to last; that the corruptions of place cannot abide their purity; that Heaven sends its favourites early doom; that a supernatural benignity is the disposition of their Government; and that their spirits will speedily be dismissed from their tabernacles in Westminster to their respective country houses.

We have heard stout, durable-looking, square-built, large-salaried, official men, hold this moving sort of talk while their cherubimical countenances

have assumed a radiance (or beaming, as the poets call it) suited to their ethereal qualities and destination. It was expected of the hearer, that he should thereupon look sad, draw out a handkerchief, and pass it across the eyes, lament, in a solemn tone of suppressed emotion, that virtue was so unpractical; and express an earnest hope, that Ministers *would not attempt too much*, promising that all allowances should be made for any deficiencies in consideration of their delicate predicament. We state, as a matter of fact, which will occur to the recollection of hundreds, when it is mentioned, that the most zealous partizans of Government have been perpetually throwing out doubts of the stability of the Ministry, and even naming periods for its dissolution. Their talk has been suited to a Curtius, about to devote himself to destruction for the good of the country,—with this difference, that by a hint of the inutility of the sacrifice, they have seemed to invite a charitable interference. Whether this language has been countenanced by the Ministers we know not, but that it has been held by their adherents many will vouch, and we have always interpreted it as a demand upon forbearance and allowances—a "shamming Abraham" for the sake of the petting and indulgences. Every Reformer, nay, every creature who feels an interest in the preservation of the public peace, is anxious for the continuance of the present Ministry; (supposing it to be true to its professions) and to repre-

sent it as feeble and delicate, was to canvass the most strenuous support, and to deprecate the demand for undertakings, which, in a robuster state, might fairly be required of it. The Government has, in effect, been tendered like a lying-in lady. Having been delivered of the Bill, the straw has been laid down, the knocker tied up, and the delicate invalid has been treated with caudle and compliments. The same sort of thing was done with Canning's Administration; there was this difference, however, that it was only said to be big with some excellent consequences, and that doing any thing good would be fatal in this curious pregnancy.

We mention the fact, that the language we have described has been customary, as it will serve to explain the circumstance (which otherwise would procure more of credit than it should) that certain ministerial organs have been forward in the expression of their doubts of the stability of the Government.—The Ministry may be insecure; but it is not this hacknied note of alarm alone which will induce us to believe it so. The effect is certainly to abate demands on energy, and to reconcile people to what they can get—to any thing, indeed, rather than the dismissal of the Ministry, which would be the signal for the outbreaking of a fierce resentment.

It is broadly asserted, by one Government paper,

that there is an important obstacle in the way of Ministers; and it is more than insinuated, that it lies in the disfavour of the King. This is another of the stories which have not obtained authority with familiarity.

With no very strong faith in princes, we confess that we see no ground for this representation, nor even any of the appearances to warrant the supposition that such a course of deceit lies beneath the surface.

To try the question of probability, as to whether the King is infirm of purpose, or Lord Grey deficient in spirit and energy, let us observe how each has acquitted himself in his part, so far as it has been seen.

In the use of the means absolutely at the disposal of Government, have we seen an undeviating and scrupulous regard to the one grand object? Has the ministerial patronage been distributed so as to strengthen the popular cause?—Have we had reason to remark—"These are men who will throw "no chance away, who will forego no resource, "who will so husband their means, that they shall "go far with little?" Have they economised their means, as Ministers would be likely to do, who felt that *all* the powers which the emergency required, were not placed at their disposal—and that consequently no advantage was to be lost which could be secured? To make the most of what

they possess is the usual conduct of zealous and prudent men when they find they have not all that they should have for the success of the object in view. Leonidas was not careless of his small forces: nor do we hear that he gave up any posts, or "coignes of vantage" to the Persians. Napoleon, in Spain, poured out the blood of France as prodigally as water: but Wellington, with scantier resources, and a reluctant Administration at home, set a value on every man, and threw away no particle of his limited strength. So should it have been with the Grey Government, had it wanted the full support it had a right to expect from the King—in proportion to its weakness in that respect, it would have been wary in the disposal of its powers. Does the management of the ministerial patronage correspond with this supposed case of necessity?—In the Lord Lieutenancies, the Magistracy, the Church, do we see the signs of the arrangements of men, who, deprived of a part of their due support, made a doubly efficient use of the remaining means in their power?

Putting out of question all matters of mystery and rumour, we affirm that had the Ministers done as much for the cause as the King has publicly done, our front of battle would have important points of strength where it has now vital weaknesses. So far from the conduct of Government bearing the appearance of a deficiency of support,

it has the marks of a prodigality belonging either to abundance—or to indifference. But when is it to be imagined that the King's purpose faltered? Lord Grey must have known his Majesty's mind sufficiently well when Parliament was prorogued, and then the creation of Peers was not designed. Surely, Lord Grey would not have deceived the Country, and amused it with hopes, when aware in his own mind, that he had not the powers necessary to the purpose. But the King may suddenly have taken fright,—Princes are fickle. True; but he had not taken fright three weeks ago, and the necessity for a creation was then as obvious as now to all persons not in the condition of mind of the projector who proposed to draw sun-beams from cucumbers. We admit there were some whose belief seemed proportioned directly to improbability, just as if there be an adept who supposes he can make bricks without straw, or cut blocks with razors, his more sanguine followers will believe that the bricks will be made, *because* there is not the straw, and that the block will be cut, because there is not even a razor. There is in politics a faith without works, the perfection of which is summed up in the saying of Tertullian, *credo quia impossibile est.*

We confess that such reports as we have touched upon, though they seemed more probable, would not affect us with much alarm. If we are asked

the reason of our immoveability, we answer, it is because we have placed our confidence not in Lord Grey, who may be strong or may be weak, but in the nation.

We are twenty millions—and twenty millions play no losing game.

CONFIDENCE IN MINISTERS.

"THE confidence in Ministers," which was lately so earnestly inculcated and loudly professed by some of our contemporaries, has not been heard of within the last week. We were once amused by an Irish lady's boast of a letter of *unlimited* credit on Lafitte's banking-house for three hundred pounds. This sort of unlimited credit must be something like the implicit confidence in the Grey Government, which we have seen to be exhausted by so small a run on it. We hear no more, either, of "standing by Lord Grey." As Lord Grey seemed to us to be standing still, we could not see much use in standing by him, which appeared too much like the old story of Jack helping Tom in doing nothing; but we cannot deny that those who thought otherwise have treated their idol, the Minister, rather shabbily. Their sudden distrust has been as unreasonable as their confidence. So

it is, however, that these persons are inconstant as vehement in their extremeties—one moment feeding hope on sun-beams, and the next squatting down with the toad in the coldest depths of despair.

THE BLACK ART.

THE disputes about the Liberty of the Press will one day be read with as much wonder as the disputes about witchcraft. The belief that helpless old hags could ride the winds and dispense sickness, sorrow, and calamity, will not seem less astonishing than the belief that poor scribblers can exercise baneful powers over the public mind, and order at pleasure, the rise and fall of institutions. Libel is the black art of modern times: the pen, the broomstick; the press, the cauldron; and the viler the ingredients flung in, of the more fearful potency the charm is supposed to be. One of the many easy recipes for magical mischief—as if mischief needed any magic!—was this: the wizard made the effigy in wax of the person he desired to injure; set it before a fire; and the represented wasted away with consuming heats, as his effigy melted. If it was desired to add to his pains, pins were thrust into the image during its process of

melting, which, according to the authorities on such subjects, caused to the person represented torments intolerable, as though spits were passed through his body. The same maleficent operation is attributed to the representations of the Press. The dabbler in the black art makes, in words, a likeness of the thing he desires to injure, and sets it before a blaze of invective, and it wastes away: he sticks sharp charges into it, skewers it with vituperation, and the object of the malice is pierced and destroyed. These are things which our ancestors believed of the body natural; they are now believed of the body politic. To put to the torture an object in representation by words, as formerly in wax, is supposed to destroy it in reality. As no health in the person could withstand the torture of him in effigy, so no virtue in an institution can bear up against its detraction on paper. The parallel holds true in other particulars. The more decrepit and miserable, the more dangerous was the witch or wizard imagined to be—indeed witches were always more abundant than wizards, as there is more helplessness among women than among men. Thus it is too with writers—the poor scolds, who can do nothing but rail and curse, are supposed to have the peculiar power of harming,—inasmuch as they have no other power. Because they cannot walk by day, they are believed to fly by night.

Our ancestors have not afforded the folly for the

completion of the parallel. They did not tax broomsticks, though they knew full well that a broomstick was as essential to the movements of a witch, as their descendants know circulation to be necessary to the effect of libel. But there was no stamp-duty on broomsticks, though a fourpenny tax would certainly have taken them out of the hands of the wretchedly poor class of witches—for, favoured as they were with the devil's gifts, riches were not among them, as he gave all his disposable wealth to the church, and would not spare from the bishops a maravedo for the wizards. Our forefathers, doubtless, considered that though it was a shocking thing that witches should run their careers through the sky mounted on broomsticks, yet broomsticks being serviceable to ten thousand honest folks for one witch, it would be inexpedient to put restraints on their use—added to which they knew, as well as we know libel law, that if they refused witches the convenience of broomsticks, they would have recourse to a more exceptionable mode of equitation, which they employed at a pinch for conveyances—namely, the running spits or stakes into the bodies of horses, and then riding by dozens on such outriggers, by process of which, the poor beasts were, as the accident-writers say, "wholly unable to go to their work the next day." By depriving the practitioners of the modern black art of their broomsticks, our Legislature has driven them to spitting the cattle—or, to drop metaphor,

by imposing taxes on newspapers, which place them out of the reach of the needy, a contraband trade has been called into existence, and a cheap illicit spirit, ten times above proof, has been hawked among the working classes. The cheap publications of whose alleged inflammatory tendency so much complaint is made, are the off-springs of the Stamp Duties: reduce the price of the journals which have some character at stake for truth and knowledge, and this fry would sink in the competition.

THE SOOTHING SYSTEM ILLUSTRATED.

"If you mention vice or bribe
'Tis so pat to all the tribe,
Each cries, that was levelled at me."

It is well known to all the world (which means ourselves and friends), that Ministers are the best men breathing; having, however, this one fault (all the best people have some great *one*, by-the-bye), that they are too good — to their enemies. A very melancholy instance of this propensity has just transpired. Poor Lord Althorp has been shockingly used by a Lancashire Tory, to whom he tendered some appeasing civility. He did but

open a friendly communication, as a man might do with a mad bull, asking him what had so transported him, and wherein he was displeased; when the savage tossed, tore, and gored, and pinned him, and left him speechless!

The affair was, it seems, as thus: Lord Althorp received a letter from a gentleman named Philips,* stating, in insulting terms, that Mr Hulton, of Hulton Park, a Lancashire magistrate, had withdrawn from the Commission of the Peace, in consequence of expressions used by his Lordship in the House of Commons, in allusion to the Massacre; or, as Lord Althorp terms it—and we beg the term may be remarked, for we have much to say on it—"the unfortunate *transactions* at Manchester" in 1819. When it is considered how few Tory Magistrates there are in the country, and how ill one can be spared who had taken a part in "the Manchester transactions" of 1819, need we be surprised at Lord Althorp's eagerness to come to explanation with the malcontent? He wrote to him what would be called a very pleasing letter, such as, coming from a Minister of State,

* This letter is so presuming and impertinent, that it is inconceivable how any man of common discretion could have been induced to attend to it. The writer admonishes the noble lord to "pause" (a very favourite recommendation with the noodles) in his rash career, and apprises him that "sound judgment" is indispensable in his situation. Such a judgment would instantly have conveyed the letter into the fire.

with a great seal to it, notifying the exalted correspondence in the post town,—could not have failed to soften the resentment of any magistrate, who had not had a hand in the Manchester transactions. But see the force of habit!—Mr Hulton instantly charged upon this peaceable nobleman, in the Peterloo manner, cut him down, and trampled him under foot!

Lord Althorp concludes his letter, disavowing any intended offence, by saying—

"I did undoubtedly refer to the circumstances "of the case (the Manchester Massacre, termed "by his lordship 'transactions') in general terms "of disapprobation; but *I did not apply those* "*terms to the magistrates*—still less to any indi- "vidual magistrate; and, therefore, unless you "have seen a report of what I said, very different "from that which appears in the *Mirror of Par-* "*liament*, I think it impossible that you should "have retired from the Bench of Magistrates in "consequence of what I said in the House of "Commons."

It is one of the greatest discoveries of modern times, that when any considerable public mischief happens, nobody is to blame. The stars formerly had to answer for all crimes and miscarriages; but since the improvements in astronomy, they have been found innocent, and are no longer responsible for our calamities—had they not been timely set right in public opinion, the Georgium Sidus

would have borne the blame of all the ills that have afflicted the country. Now, however, the stars and garters of the Peers are the only ones apostrophised as malignant causes of mischief. The instigations of the Devil succeeded; but, like an overworked advocate, he sunk under excess of business, and died of fatigue in the American war. Refinement then struck out the grand discovery, that the force of circumstances had to answer for all courses of action, and that events could be untoward, and transactions unfortunate, without any fault attaching to the persons ostensibly acting in them. This philosophy, which so wonderfully advances the cause of charity, has not yet obtained footing in our courts of justice; but, we foresee, and so doubtless do the lawyers, that their business will be utterly at an end whenever it is acknowledged there. Murder has not yet got the name of an "unfortunate transaction;" but when it does so, it is clear that humanity will have greatly gained, for the indictments will be laid for "unfortunate transactions," without any personality or occasion for a prisoner at the bar; and thus the odious character of the murderer will cease to exist —the thing, to be sure, may still happen untowardly; but what is a thing to a name? and words, indeed, are things, the representatives of things, and as much superior in consequence and power to them, as a Member of Parliament is of greater authority than his constituency. Had an

earlier improvement of phraseology given to the Massacre of St Bartholomew the name of the Transactions of St Bartholomew, that action would doubtless have been regarded with more indulgence. As for the atrocities of the French Revolution, adopting the nomenclature of Lord Althorp, may we not soften them under the description of the Philosophical Transactions?

Lord Althorp disapproved, as he explains, in general terms, of the circumstances of the "Manchester transactions;" "but," says he, "I did not apply the expressions of blame to the Magistrates." And doubtless he intended to carry them to the exclusive account of the unfortunateness of the transaction, which is a thing essentially impersonal. But here we come to one of those instances of crassitude, proceeding from a country life; Mr Hulton, in his reply, after lecturing his Lordship on his politics, touches thus rudely on this delicacy in his diction:—

"Your Lordship states in your letter, that "though you did 'refer to the circumstances in "general terms of disapprobation, you did not "apply those terms to the *magistrates*. To whom, "may I venture to ask, did these expressions "refer? There were only two parties; on the "one hand, the civil authorities, with the military "acting under their orders; on the other, Messrs "Hunt, Carlile, and their compatriots."

Here is a man who supposes that parties are

necessary to an unfortunate transaction—nay, who seems to think that a transaction has transactors, as an action without the help of the *trans* has certainly its actor. There are, we admit, some "unfortunate transactions" in which parties are accountable, and may not only be personally blamed, but personally indicted, and most personally hung by the neck till dead; but these are cases in which a mob are on the active side of the transaction, as at Bristol, and not on the passive, as at Manchester. Put the magistrates on the assailing side, and the blame has no personal attachment. And thus we often see that in law and morals, as in algebraic equations, to change the sides of the characters, alters their effect from positive to negative, and the opposite. When Mob is against Magistrate, Magistrate is *plus* Justice; but, when Magistrate is against Mob, Mob is *minus* Justice.

Mr Hulton, it soon appears, had his cogent reasons for not understanding the impersonal blame of the Manchester transaction. Thought he, I have been praised for my part in the transaction, and so I must have had a part, or how can I have the praise? He had had the praise of the finest gentleman of the age, the graceful George, for authorising the sabreing of the people; and now to be told that the character of an affair of such gore and glory can be adverted to, without concerning in any way the conduct of the magis-

trates, who cried havoc, and slipped the dogs of yeomanry, is to take the red feather out of his plume. He is evidently touched at his part having been overlooked.

" I should have imagined, that to one who took " the active interest which your Lordship did in " the affairs of 1819, my name might have been as " familiar as that of Deacle. Humble individual " as I am, honour, the firmest basis of private life, " forbids that I should tamely submit to have the " epithet 'revolting' applied to any transaction in " which I had participated."

Mr Hulton has his own taste for fame, but with that we have nothing to do,—there may be a taste for fame, like that for game, most relished by the epicures when it stinks. Those fames however, which are so very *high*, will not *keep;* and it scarcely surprises us, that so pure a person as Lord Althorp really is, should have had his recollections purified from the odour of the Manchester Magistrate.

The answer of Mr Hulton, of Hulton, to the bland espistle of Lord Althorp, is altogether an effective piece of impertinence, and we earnestly hope it may cure Lord Althorp of his propensity to gallant with the Tories—we trust it will be a warning to the whole Cabinet indeed: it is what *Mrs Abigail* styles "a complete set-down," or " dressing."

" Your lordship will neither deny nor admit the

"the use of the word 'revolting,' as stated in "many journals, or 'most unjustifiable,' as quoted "from the 'Mirror of Parliament.' But, as your "lordship seems to think the last superlative "epithet so much the more gentle of the two, I "will assume that it was the one applied by your "lordship to some parties engaged in the trans- "actions at Manchester in 1819. As your letters "are not marked 'private,' I have shown them to "several of my friends holding different political "sentiments. They, and the public, had come to "the same conclusion as myself, and fancied "(erroneously, as it now appears) that your obser- "vations applied to the magistrates. It may be "very presumptuous to make the inquiry; but it "would be extremely consolatory to me to hear "from your lordship for *whom* the remark was "intended? I would not take the liberty of ask- "ing the question *if your lordship had not volun- "teered the denial of its application to myself.*"

Now, is not this melancholy?—after all the courtesies, and explanations, and wriggling, and twisting, and evading, and renouncing,—all lest a Tory magistrate should retire in displeasure from the Commission, whence five hundred such as he could be excellently well spared—after all this, the most amiable of all Chancellors of the Exchequer only gets pinned fast to the charge, in flinching from which only could there be discredit, and insulted for all his labour of love! So it is, and so

it should be. The Tories, in this respect, evince a secret modesty—they always despise those who court them, as if their own consciences made them judges of the abjectness of the homage. Something is to be considered on the other hand, and the Whigs may have a profound and subtle policy in the practice which so disgusts their friends. Lord Herbert of Cherbury says he made a rule of returning good for evil, and heaping favours on his enemies, because he had an opinion that God punished them the more, and far more effectually, in the other world, in consequence of such great goodness on his part. This may be the virulent malice of Whig kindness to adversaries.

We cannot view the correspondence to which our remarks apply, in the same light with some of our contemporaries. We see in it more than the arrogance and impertinence of a Tory Squire, and the meekness of Lord Althorp so rudely requited. The *Globe* observes, that it proves the importance of one sort of man to himself. It proves rather the importance of that one sort of man to another, and a minister,—and this is precisely what we grieve to see. It adds to the many evidences that the relations between the Government and the Magistracy are the reverse of what they should be, and it shows the absurd importance that is attached to the displeasure of one of these rural Bashaws. Such an example as this really does lower the dignity, aye, and the

authority, of the State. Deference to captiousness is an infallible sign of subjection, and certain encouragement to insolent encroachment. Hardly will it be now possible for Ministers to open their mouths without giving offence to some of the worshipful body. The merchant in the Arabian Nights, who was eating nuts and throwing away the husks, was terrified by the sudden appearance of a raging giant—a sort of Lancashire gentleman — who desired him to prepare for instant death. The poor man comported himself like Lord Althorp, spoke most civilly, disavowed intention of offence, and begged to know wherein he had displeased? 'Wretch!' cried the giant,—'you have dashed out the brains of my beloved son with your accursed nut-shells.' The merchant was as much at a loss to understand the connection between the husks of nuts and the destruction of a giant's son, as was Lord Althorp to comprehend the relation of Mr Hulton's displeasure to the words he had dropped; and his pain was the greater, as he knew, that though he renounced nuts, he never could be secure against killing giant's sons, whose forms were so fine as to be imperceptible to the eye, and destructible by husks. The giant, as every one knows, proved in the end more placable than Mr Hulton of Hulton Park—perhaps because the giant was not great man enough to have a park — perhaps because he had never been in the Commission

of the Peace, which makes a gentleman understand his right to be angry. This story illustrates self-love, that vast passion, whose objects of affection are so small—against the wounds of whose minute and fragile offspring we can never be secure. The sons of giant pride are about in all directions; and though Lord Althorp be not husky in his speech, though his words fall soft as flakes of snow, yet shall he brain the first-born, the joy, the pride of the Gogs, and be stunned with their complaints of wrong and threats of vengeance. Throw but the stone, however, and the giant dies—aye, were he ten times as big as Hulton of Hulton Park. Giantship, whatever it was formerly, when beasts could speak, is now conventional; if we allow men to lay down their own proportions of consequence, they will fill them with insolence. By taking their just measure, we bring them down to their modesties or proprieties. We have not a doubt, that had our aforesaid merchant filliped a nut sharply against his bullying giant, instead of begging and praying, he would have knocked him down to insignificance, for the chip showed the softness of the block.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.

"" The true hangman is the Member of Parliament; he who frames the bloody law is answerable for the blood that is spilt under it."—*Speech of Sir* WILLIAM MEREDITH.*

A PETITION against the punishment of death, signed by 1,100 inhabitants of Middlesex, qualified to serve on grand juries, and several of whom have served as foremen, has been presented to the House of Commons.

"The Petitioners view with deep regret the "excessive and indiscriminate severity of the Cri- "minal Laws, which annex to offences of different "degrees of moral guilt the punishment of death, "and confound the simple invasion of the rights of "property with the most malignant and atrocious "crimes against the person and life of man."

They observe,

"That where public opinion does not go along "with the laws, the persons who suffer under them "are regarded as the victims of Legislative tyranny

* This admirable speech has been lately published, and circulated by the Society for the Diffusion of Information respecting Capital Punishments.

" or judicial caprice, and not as criminals whose " doom has been pronounced by the voice of dis- " passionate justice."

They complain,

" That the criminals executed in this country " are selected out of a far greater number sen- " tenced to death, and where the practice condemns " the Law, the Law ought to be altered, that cri- " minals might suffer the punishment of their guilt " by the authority of defined statutes, and not by " the uncertain and capricious rule of judicial " discretion.

" That in the present state of the Law, Juries " feel extremely reluctant to convict, when the " penal consequences of the offence excite a con- " scientious horror on their minds, lest the rigorous " performance of their duty as jurors should make " them accessory to judicial murder. Hence, in " Courts of Justice, a most unnecessary and painful " struggle is occasioned by the conflict of the feel- " ings of a just humanity with the sense of the " obligation of an oath."

The petitioners conclude by praying that a distinction may be drawn between the simple invasion of the rights of property, and crimes of violence and blood.

The Lord Chancellor (Brougham) said that he was not prepared to draw the line so broadly. He was of opinion, that crimes tending to the devastation or subversion of society, should be punished

with death; but he does not attempt to show, that the punishment of death has the effect of checking such crimes, nor does he show that the sentiment of society will allow it to be enforced. His Lordship maintains a theory of severity against the world's practical experience of its inutility and impolicy. "Even in crimes which are seldom or "never pardoned," observed Sir William Meredith, half a century ago, "death is no prevention. "Housebreakers, forgers, and coiners, are sure to "be hanged; yet housebreaking, forgery, and "coining, are the very crimes which are oftenest "committed. Strange it is, that in the case of "blood, of which we ought to be most tender, "we should still go on against reason, and against "experience, to make unavailing slaughter of "our fellow creatures."

We foresee that Lord Brougham and Vaux will be a prodigious favourite with the Church. His observation, "that there was nothing in the Bible "prohibitory of the punishment of death for other "crimes than murder," reminds us of the reason which the Newgate Ordinary, in Jonathan Wild, gives for his choice of punch, that it is a liquor no where spoken ill of in Scripture.

The common phrase, the severity of punishments, is inaccurate and misleading. Of our punishments no one quality can be predicated. They vary with humour and circumstances. Sometimes they are sanguinary, sometimes gentle; now it is

called, justice; anon, mercy. If intention were to be inferred from effect, it would be supposed that the policy of the law had been to improve crime by a sort of gymnastic exercise. When extraordinary activity is observed in any limb of crime, the Law immediately corrects the partiality by a smart application of the rod; the ingenuity of the rogues then takes another direction which has hitherto had repose and indulgence, the Law after a time pursues it in that quarter with a terrible chastisement; a third is then tried, and so on. By this process all the muscles of crime are in turn exercised, and the body felonious rendered supple, agile, and vigorous. There is as much fashion in what is termed justice as in bonnets or sleeves. The judge's cap is indeed as capricious as the ladies'. Sometimes the trimmings are blood red, sometimes the sky blue of mercy is in vogue. One assize there is a run of death on the horse-stealers; another the sheep-stealers have their turn; last winter arson was the capital rage; now death for forgery is said to be coming in again—*ne quid nimis* is the maxim. By this system it has come to pass that our rogues are accomplished in all branches of felony, and practised in resources beyond the rogues of all other countries in the world; and our criminals may be affirmed to be worthy of our Legislators. The vain threat of great punishments has had this comforting effect on rogues, of masking from their imaginations the fear of the more probable minor

punishments. They calculate the chances of escaping the first, and in their satisfaction at the probability, give no thought to the second. The known chances of escaping death encourage to hopes of unknown chances of escaping the milder punishments. The reasoning is, "If the Law "threatens so much more than it does in one re- "spect, is it not likely to be equally uncertain in "another?" The effect of all views depends on proportions, and if uncertain terrible punishments are classed with probable minor ones, the minor will be stripped of all awe in the comparison. Award death and transportation to the same offence, and transportation seems a *bonus*—let transportation stand alone, and it appears more threatening to the undivided imagination. Our law menaces with two fates, the heaviest and the lightest, to the fancy, and clouds both in uncertainty. Men commit crimes as they commit imprudences dangerous to health, not because the temptation is worth the risk, but because the temptation is immediate and the consequence remote and obscure. The penalty is not defined with precision to the fancy.

The severity of the law opens a field for arbitrary power under the plausible names of justice or of mercy. In the wide interval between extreme severity and extreme indulgence these two prerogatives have despotic range. In London and Middlesex there is a court above the courts of Record —a court whose proceedings are unseen, whose

motives of judgment are unknown, whose evidence is partial—it is described as the King in Council—here the harshest sentences are mitigated, commuted, or confirmed, and punishments awarded in the gross are reduced to the scruple. Half a hundred prisoners are in open court sentenced to death, and by the King in secret Council the punishments of 59 out of the 60 are brought down to the proportions said to be suited to the cases, and accordingly inflicted.

In this mysterious supreme court no parties appear for or against the prisoner; no witnesses are called; the convicts have no opportunity of protecting themselves against malicious or erroneous representations, nor have prosecutors the opportunity of preventing the operation of partiality or mistaken mercy. To Mr Wakefield we are indebted for a masterly exposition of this subject; and to his work we strongly recommend the further attention of the reader.

A common effect of the severity of the Law is, to turn the humanity of society to the account of criminals, and to habituate men in the discharge of a most solemn duty to the violation of truth. In trying a prisoner, regard is generally had to the nature of the punishment awaiting him, before inquiry is directed to the truth of the charge, and belief or disbelief of the evidence is proportioned to the probable character of the sentence.

Upon the statement of the Middlesex petitioners,

that juries deviated from the rigorous execution of their duty lest they should be accessory to judicial murder, Lord Brougham remarked as follows:—

"The Petitioners had stated facts which were of "great importance. They stated that some of "them had served as foremen of grand juries, and "and that all of them were liable to serve as grand "jurymen—that many of them were men of great "property, and were engaged in commercial pur- "suits, which, in a peculiar manner, exposed them "to severe losses from frauds, and especially from "forgery, which was obviously the crime to which "the petitioners more particularly alluded, and of "which they were principally the victims. It was "certainly a most important fact, that these persons "came forward and told their Lordships that they "could find no security against that crime in capital "punishment. They said that they were ex- "tremely reluctant to prosecute, but if they did "not prosecute, that, to be sure, was their own "fault. But when they said that witnesses could "not be brought to give evidence, and that jurors "could not be brought to convict; and then they "might put their case simply on the ground, that "practically the present state of the Law had been "tried, and had failed of its effect. That was the "most important part of the petition, although he "was far from undervaluing their feelings of "humanity, and had no doubt but that they were "excellent men. But there was one part of their

" petition which, in his opinion, could not be sanc-
" tioned by their Lordships. He, at least, *could*
" *not understand how honourable men serving on*
" *juries could trifle with their Oath.* The oath
" administered to the jury in criminal cases was,
" 'You shall well and truly try, and a true deliver-
" ance make, between our Sovereign Lord the
" King and the prisoner at the bar, and a true
" verdict give, according to the evidence. So help
" you God.' And yet they appeared disposed
" suddenly to forget their character of jurors, *and*
" *to erect themselves into legislators.* In this
" character of lawgivers, they not only made a
" new law for themselves, but appeared to think
" that, in the face of their oath, they might be
" justified in giving a verdict against the evidence.
" How any honourable man could reconcile this
" to his conscience, he could not conceive. The
" jury had no more to do than say, whether, in
" point of fact, the crime had been committed;
" and it was for the Judge to award the punish-
" ment; and he could award only that which the
" Law had prescribed. He could not comprehend
" how it was possible for them to reconcile it to
" their consciences to pronounce a man not guilty,
" when the weight of evidence preponderated
" against him. As a lawyer, as a judge, and as
" a legislator, he could see no grounds on which
" any man could reconcile his conscience such a
" course of conduct. If it were a crime to inflict
" the punishment of death in such cases, the crime

" was not that of the jurors, but of the Legisla-
" ture; and until the Law was altered, the former
" were bound to act by it."

As for giving verdicts against the evidence, whatever may be the enormity, a share must be borne by the Judges, who, as Mr Bentham observes, were in the habit of directing juries to find the value of stolen property below the real and notorious value, in order to evade the capital punishment; and who, for quirks and quibbles of law, have, in more than one instance, directed juries to find verdicts of not guilty after the prisoner has solemnly confessed his guilt!

A more immoral doctrine than that of the Lord Chancellor was never uttered within the walls of Parliament. It involves every crime to society. Had the French acted according to such precepts, there would have been no revolution of July—the soldier holding the blind obligation of obedience superior to his social duties (to which all engagements subserve), would have turned his arms against his fellow-citizens. For forms, with whatever sanctity they are clothed, honest men will not sacrifice the object for which such forms were directed. The object of the juror's office is justice, and if the law endeavours to make him an instrument of legal murder, the paramount social principle releases him from his oath.

About a month ago the following scene passed in the Court of Chancery:—

" At the rising of the Court, Mr Thomas Parkin,

"editor of *The Christian Corrector*, presented a "petition to the Lord Chancellor, complaining "that he was completely ruined, being obliged to "abandon his mining concerns at Dudley, on "account of his inability to take an oath, in con- "sequence of his religious scruples, and answer a "Bill filed against him in the Court of Chancery. "—The Lord Chancellor attended most courte- "ously to his application, and asked Mr Parkin "whether he was either a Quaker or a Moravian, "as in either case relief was provided?—Mr "Parkin replied that he was not; whereupon his "Lordship *recommended him to become either the* "*one or the other.* But Mr Parkin said, 'he would "not sacrifice one principle for the sake of another.' "—His Lordship then said, 'I will put a case to "you, as I, in many instances, have done before, "and beg of you seriously to think upon it by "Monday. If you were called upon to give evi- "dence in the case of a murder; yea, suppose you "could prove the innocence of a man about to be "tried for such a crime, how would you feel if you "refused to give your testimony? I have no dif- "ficulty in saying, that it would, in such cases, be "your duty to obey the laws of man, though, in "your opinion, IN VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF "GOD, *who would excuse you, as all the blame* "*would be chargeable upon human legislation.*'"

Of what account is conscience made here? Lord Brougham recommends a man to change his reli-

gion as if it were his coat. But he does more—for the sake of substantial justice, he contends that a violation of the laws of God is pardonable. He says, "Swear against your faith, and leave the burthen of the sin to the account of the Legislature. Though man may censure, Heaven will forgive." Far less questionable than this conduct, recommended by the Keeper of the King's Conscience, is that of the juryman who violates the letter of his oath, adhering to the intention of his institution, and does violence to his conscience, to preserve a human life. And may not he suppose, that God, knowing his motives, will excuse him, even as the hypocrite in Chancery; and, that "the blame will be chargeable upon human legislation." May men act unconscientiously only in the Court of Equity? Is it for pelf alone, that false professions of faith, and the pretence of taking an oath, which the party believes not permissable or binding, are rdoned? His Lordship is extraordinarily lax in the one case, and strict in the other. To one man, he says, "Swear, whether your conscience permits, or whether you believe what you swear or not, or you will lose your cause;" and to another, "hang the man for stealing a sheep, or forging a name, or you will wound your conscience, and break your oath."

An oath, in the one case, is supposed to be binding to the last extremity of inhumanity. An oath, in the other, is to be taken *for convenience*, through

false pretences, and the blame laid to legislation! This latter doctrine is startling, proceeding as it does from the Keeper of the King's Conscience, and the first law officer in the realm; but that it should be entertained is no matter of surprise, for it is a part of an English gentleman's education, to take oaths as he would not take any thing else in the world, without even inquiring what they are. All that he cares to know is, that the oath is required; and he may break it the next hour, unconscious of his perjury, and would laugh were he reproached with it. Every one is aware that perjury is an academic exercise. Considering, therefore, how aristocratic and modish in his opinions the Lord Chancellor has become since he has sat on the woolsack, we were not surprised at his holding the doctrines he recommended to the adoption of Mr Parkin, though we were a little startled by the publicity and frankness of their expression; but it does astonish us to find that such a severe judgment on the Juror's disregard of an oath for the sake of humanity, co-existed with such laxity as to the suitor's false oath for a purpose merely selfish, and as such, not requiring elaborate solicitation or the ingenuity of casuistry to recommend it.

STOPPING-UP OF FOOTPATHS.

Mr John Wood has presented a petition from Manchester against the law empowering two or more Justices of the Peace to stop up footpaths. Mr Strickland and Mr Wilks supported the petition; but it seems to have excited little attention or interest in the House: and no other gentlemen thought it worth while to express their sentiments. This does not surprise us; for the subject, as observed by Mr Wilks, is one of great importance to the health and comfort of the people: and how seldom does a subject *only* of importance to the health and comfort of the people move the sympathies, and command the consideration of Parliament? Let it be stated that a Prince or Princess has been pitiably straitened on an allowance of 12,000*l.* a year, and Member after Member—yea, patriot after patriot—will spring up, with his heart in his mouth and his hand in our pockets, confess the hardship of the case, and his joyful readiness to concur in the required grant, vouching, at the same time, for the pleasure with which the public will defray this pleasing addition to its charges. How different is the reception of any representation of the privations, vexations, or

sufferings, of the humble and labouring classes! We hear nothing then of liberality, or generosity, or the claims of justice, or the regards due to the comforts of the deserving. The law of which complaint was made in Parliament a few days ago might have been entituled a Statute for sacrificing the pleasures and convenience of the poor to the pride and luxury of the rich. Exclusion is the evil spirit of our country: for it, every class spurns the class below, while it prostrates to the class above; for it, the kindly intercourses are cut off, which are the great channels of civilization—the channels through which the humanities have their rapidest and most penetrating flow. Repulsion is substituted for attraction; and the lowly learn nothing from the great but to hate their unsocial arrogance. This vile spirit and its pernicious effects are to be seen, not only in our social state: they have their outward and visible signs every where—even in our fields, and make the face of nature itself a record of the inhumanities. The poor man's pleasant walk, or short cut to his place of labour, has been grudged by the rich, upon whose lordly privacy it trenches, or with the exclusive completeness of whose domain it interferes. A law has been had, the effect of which is to give to the gentry the power of improving their properties at the expense of the simple pleasures and convenience of the poor. If "*parva parvos decent,*" these were surely of the sort—the shady walk, the ready access, the

path every step of which brought recollections of infancy or youth to toil and age—a line always speaking of other times to those who have seldom much joy in the present — even such simple means of ease or pleasure were grudged by the avarice of aristocratic pride, and rendered up to its accursed clutches, through the always accommodating instrumentality of the Magistracy. Thus the poor have not only the hardship of suffering the privation of a familiar right, but the irritation of seeing the Magistracy, whose office should, in their minds, be identified with protection, made the chosen instruments of the wrong; as if Parliament had desired to write on the hearts of the millions, "in these, your magistrates, you shall have no faith."

Those who make light of provocations of this character are miserably ignorant of man. It is not always the greatest political wrong which has the greatest effect on men's minds; and we firmly believe that more of bitterness, more of fierce vindictive sentiment, towards the rich, has been produced by the path-stopping act, wheresoever it has been enforced, than by any other of the many bad acts that have been spawned by Parliament within the present century. The invasion of right and convenience is in this case so palpable, so obvious to every understanding, and so kept alive in the recollection by the daily consequent discomfort; and the motive is also so exasperatingly conspicuous

in the improved domains of the rich and powerful, that it is not in the very large patience of the persons concerned to become reconciled to the wrong.

And who are the men who have authority to rob the labourer of the sweat of his brow, to deprive him of the short and pleasant path to his labour, and to add to the toil of him who lives by toil? the unpaid Magistrates—men notoriously appointed without regard to any judicial qualification, and who are as notoriously continued in the commission of the peace after the most decisive proofs of unfitness—to such as these the rights of the humble and industrious, in their paths to labour or recreation, are entrusted. When a canal or road, most essential to public convenience, is carried through the domain of a man of wealth, an Act of Parliament is necessary, and compensation is had; but when the way is to be stopped up, which has been of pleasure or convenience to the men of labour, nothing more is necessary than the consent of two Magistrates, and nothing more is given than notice of prosecution, with the utmost rigour of the law, to trespassers. And ours is the aristocracy which is declared not oppressive, and not to be likened to the French aristocracy, before the Revolution. The precise grievance in question was, however, one of these of which our neighbours had to complain; and in a petition to the National Convention, the people of Orleans said, "We are confined within the city like pri-

"soners; they destroy or block up our foot-paths, "to prevent us from enjoying the air which is "common to all."

Should the day of retaliation ever come, we can hardly fear that it will be as cruelly inconsiderate and heartlessly selfish as the wrongs that have provoked it.

PHARISEES AND PUBLICANS.

THE Bishop of London confesses that it is necessary to defend the part which the magistracy and clergy have taken against the Beer Act. He complains that "they have been stigmatized as bent "on exerting all their power and influence to "abridge and restrict the innocent amusements of "the people." It appears to us, that, by "the innocent amusements of the people," are meant the amusements which the people cannot enjoy. For example, the Bishop would admit that an airing on the water on week days was an innocent amusement to the industrious classes, who live and labour pent up in the impure air and black gloomy streets of sooty London; but on Sunday a boat is a crime, and unfortunately Sunday is the only day on which leisure is to be had by the industrious for the

exhilirating and healthful excursion. The man of purple sits in his palace, and counts the boats as they pass through Putney Bridge, and swells his piety with abomination of the sinners. He numbers the funnies, and the barges, and carries his displeasure at the amount of the Devil's craft, to the account of his own virtue. If there were a tithe on boats, with what a different spirit would their numbers be noted.

The poor man has not only lungs which play more freely in fresh air, and eyes that delight in scenes of beauty, but he has also ears, which strange as it may seem, are capable of receiving other sounds than commands, and actually are not insensible to the notes of a fiddle. Music, the Bishop will say, is, in proper places, an innocent amusement; but the misfortune is, that in the only place in which the peasant can hear it, it is forbidden. A ploughman, the Bishop must learn, cannot afford a fiddler to come and play for him while he ploughs, nor can he have a Paganini in his own cabin. At the public-house he would club his mite with others for a tune; but a fiddle at a public-house is odious to the magistracy, and universally forbidden.

Well, but there are treats besides water-parties to the folks of London, or music to the labourers in the country. A walk is of the class of innocent amusements to be permitted to the people. Aye, if the magistrates have not stopped up the

footpaths. The cut across the fields is shut up, and the path through the park; but there is the high-road open to the pleasure of the labourer; to be sure the dust is rather disagreeable, and the gravel not good for poor shoes; but then the Bishop's luxuriously appointed carriage may roll by, and it will be "an innocent amusement" to admire it, and think how it would bind up with the New Testament.

The Bishop further observed, "that the magis-"tracy and clergy did not wish to abridge the "innocent amusements of the people; but they "did wish to save them from temptations to vice "and immorality."

Upon this, we again repeat, the system of game preserving has been for many years past an admitted temptation to vice and immorality; and what part has the clergy taken against it—what churchmen have raised their voices against it—what bishop has night after night dunned Parliament with the bill of grievances? Are not these circumstances suspicious:—that the Beer Act is the only one of our many bad laws which has filled the Church with alarm and anxiety for the morals of the people—that the magistracy notoriously found certain sweets in the old licensing system, which gave origin to the name of justice juice—that the clergy make part and great part of the acting magistracy, and loudly complain of the alteration of the law?

But, says the Bishop,

"The clergy were placed in rather a difficult "situation in these cases. If they remained silent, "they were represented as careless and remiss in "the execution of their duty; and if they spoke out "against practices which they honestly believed to "have a tendency to produce vice and immorality, "then they were represented as meddlers and "hypocrites. *He really did not know what the "clergy had done to give any one a right to say "that they said one thing when they meant "another.*"

Indeed! why can any of the publicans and sinners who pass Lambeth and Fulham Palaces in their Sunday excursion, fail to perceive that the clergy say one thing while they practise another? Is it not said that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; and can they who say it mean it, when the state and revenues of princes are the objects of their highest worldly ambition? Does the ladder of church preferment ascend into attenuated air, or descend into the mines of Plutus? Which way do the rounds go—to the poverty of the blessed poor, whose inheritance is Heaven, or to the riches that clog the soul? Do the clergy strip themselves for the eye of the needle, or do they load for the camel?

Does not the Bishop really know what the

clergy have done, to give people the right to say one thing when they meant another. Have they not sees of London, Canterbury, Durham, purple, palaces, titles of honour, and rich livings?

Do they not preach, "Take no thought for your "life, what ye shall eat, neither for the body what "ye shall put on. Sell that ye have and give "alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not "old, a treasure in Heaven that faileth not;" and have they not taken to themselves even the portion of tithes which the ancient law of the land had appropriated to the poor, and do they not vindicate their estate for ever in the property of the church?

Do not these things give people the right to murmur that the clergy, "say one thing and mean" —aye, and do—another? that they hold out the Bible as the rule, and follow the customs, pride, and pleasures of worldliness.

But the Lord Chancellor forbids us to exclaim —"Woe unto you Pharisees!" His Lordship, who since he has sat on a seat of wool, and more nearly approached to the bench of bishops, has conceived a great affection for the established church, and its pillars of gold,—"concurred "with the Right Rev. Prelate (the Bishop of "London) in neglecting and despising the charge "of cant and hypocrisy which might be pre-"ferred against him for the conduct he thought "proper to pursue. The result of his experience

" in this world, and in public affairs, was, that *men* " *of little principle were prone to make attacks* " *upon those who had principles, and that these* " *charges of cant and hypocrisy did most frequently* " *come from persons who did not pretend to princi-* " *ples themselves,* and had not even that reverence " which most men entertained for those who pro- " fessed, and had the virtue to act upon principles, " since they themselves gloried in their want of " principle. He had been led to observe this *ever* " *since he had come into the other House;* he " therefore despised any charge of cant which " might be brought against him, as so justly did " the Right Reverend Prelate."

In some period of our history—we forget the precise date—a Lord Chancellor illustrated the hypocrisy of a leader of the House of Commons by the instance of Judas Iscariot, who professed zeal for charity, " not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief." The Lord Chancellor of that day—and it may have been a hundred days ago, did not think that charges of hypocrisy were infallible signs of the absence of principles and the want of reverence for virtue. At a yet more remote period, upon the death of a Queen, who had been the object of a cruel persecution, the clergy of Durham, sympathising with the best of monarchs, that is to say, the reigning sovereign, neglected the usual expressions of

public grief. A spirited public journalist of the place observed on the omission, and was prosecuted by the clergy for libel. The advocate who defended the cause thus launched out upon the hypocrisy of the Reverend Personages.

"After her glorious, but unhappy life had "closed, and that princely head was at last laid "low by death, which, living, all oppression had "only the more illustriously exalted—the venera- "ble, the clergy of Durham, I am now told for the "first time, though less forward in giving vent to "their feelings than the rest of their fellow- "citizens—though not so vehement in their indig- "nation at the matchless and unmanly persecution "of the Queen—though not so unbridled in their "joy at her immortal triumph, nor so loud in their "lamentations over her mournful and untimely "end—did, nevertheless, in reality, all the while, "deeply sympathise with her sufferings, in the "bottom of their reverend hearts! When all the "resources of the most ingenious cruelty hurried "her to a fate without parallel—if not so clamorous, "they did not feel the least of all the members "of the community—their grief was, in truth, too "deep for utterance—sorrow clung round their "bosoms, weighed upon their tongues, and stifled "every sound—and when all the rest of mankind, "of all sects and of all nations, freely gave vent to "the feelings of our common nature, their silence,

" the contrast which they displayed to the rest of " their species, proceeded from the greater depth " of their affliction. They said the less, because " they felt the more! — *Oh! talk of hypocrisy* " *after this! Most consummate of all the hypo-* " *crites!* After instructing your chosen official " advocate to stand forward with such a defence— " such an exposition of your motives — *to dare* " *utter the word hypocrisy*—and complain of those " who charge you with it! This is, indeed, to " insult common sense, and outrage the feelings " of the whole human race! If you were hypo- " crites before, you were downright frank, honest " hypocrites, to what you have now made your- " selves—and surely, for all you have ever done, " or ever been charged with, your worst enemies " must be satiated with the humiliation of this day, " its just atonement, and ample retribution."

Thus much to show how copiously the charge of hypocrisy may be flung upon Reverend Personages.

So we see that an honest man—and this advocate was an honest man—for he came afterwards to be Chancellor—may make free with the charge of hypocrisy, without fairly subjecting himself to the suspicion of lack of principle, and want of reverence for virtue.

From our own experience of the world we should say, that the charge of cant is far more questionably bandied than that of hypocrisy.

There is a vast deal of cant, undoubtedly, in the world; but there is also much of excellent benevolent purpose, which, unintelligible to the minds of grovelling worldlings, is scoffed at under the name of cant.

BIOGRAPHY A LA MODE.

SOME ACCOUNT OF HENRY HUNT, Esq., M.P.

Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus, quamquam incuriosa suorum ætas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium, parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam.—TACITUS.

THE distinguished subject of this memoir is lineally descended from the ancient family of the Heyntes, who held a castle and lands in the county of Westmoreland under William the Conqueror. The name appears in the 'Domesday book' Everil de Heynte; and in 'Camden' we find mention made of Hildabrand Heynte of Hounde Halle.* Fuller, in his 'Worthies of England,' gives especial praise to the family of the Heynts, "who," says

* Turning to the 'Beauties of England and Wales,' we find that the place is called Hound Hall, from its having belonged to the family of Hunt.

he, "have in all times been noted for the best in "the lande, for braverie in the fielde, or gentle- "ness in the hall, for loyaute to their princes, and "good order with their people, so that none might "do ill." The castle, Hounde Hall, is specially described in Speener's 'Surveye of Englande;' and the feudal right of gallows is there mentioned. Indeed, Speener says that "there was seldome a "time when some or other knaves were not hang- "inge from the worthy Lord Heynte's gibbett, for "rogues did much aboundde in they wilde partes, "and it was commonlie saide the sunn woulde lye "a bed when carkases were not oute an ayring at "Hounde Halle doore." The arms of the Heynts are three doves on a silver field, and the motto, "*Mind your Eye.*" Some contend, and Sir Gre gory Griffenal is of the number, that the birds are not pigeons but crows, and the motto, "*Mind your Rye.*" For rye used to be much grown in those parts.

In Lord Redesdale's erudite work on Barony by Tenure, a long passage will be found on the holding of Hounde Hall, and the arguments for and against the claim of the possessor to the title of Baron are considered with elaborate care and learning. We need not remind our readers that the Heyntes or Hunts, as they are now spelled, have long claimed to be Barons Hunt and Hounde, by territorial possession. The period when the final *e* was dropped from the name is a point in some ob-

scurity. Richtman, hotly—we think too hotly for the occasion—contends it was so spelt in the thirteenth century. Blete, on the other hand, affirms that Heynt was the spelling used towards the end of the twelfth, when Heynt or Heynte did service in the field, and held a basin under the King John's chin when shaving. Auldabrand argues that the motto "Mind your eye," or *ee*, has application to the misfortune the family dreaded of the loss of the final letter. This only is certain, that in the roll of the Barons who compelled John to grant Magna Charta, the name is spelt Heynt without the *e*. In the time of the Stuarts, when Everil de Hunt uttered that memorable sentiment, that should the Crown rest on a bush, his children ought to rally round it, and spill their last blood for its honour, we first find the *u* superseding the *ey*, which it has since done, down to this day. It is a remarkable coincidence, that we find Ernest Hunt distinguished at the battle of Preston Pans. The remains of Hounde Hall are still to be seen in Westmoreland, and are accounted among the finest antiques in the country. The chapel is in best preservation, four fine stones remaining. The old banqueting hall has been converted into a kennel, by Gregory Sims, Esq., who now rents the land.

The present Mr Hunt, member for Preston, was the second son of Everard Hunt, by Margaret Tollemash, a delicate shoot of one of the noblest

families in the land. His elder brother dying of the rickets, at the early age of three years, ten months, and eleven days, as we learn from the tablet to his memory in Stoke d'Auvely churchyard, Henry was educated as heir and hope of the noble house, nor did his youthful promise disappoint the fond hope of his parents. Loyalty seems to have been the instinct of his nature. His mother was used pleasantly to relate that, when the child was seven years of age, she chanced on approaching the nursery to hear a sound resembling that which an active full grown bee of the bumble kind makes in the interior of an empty full-bellied pitcher, and, being naturally curious at hearing so remarkable and singular a noise, she stepped gently on her tiptoes to the door, and on listening attentively, ascertained that it was young master Harry warbling from his infant lips "God save great George our King." If a piece of money was given to him, the bent of his affections would appear in the delight with which he gazed at the head, and he would ask whether the King at London was made of gold or of silver?—for the child could not imagine royalty of the same substance as other folks. As Henry advanced from childhood to youth, these feelings of loyalty, directed by reason, settled down into a constitutional affection to the throne—that throne, we may add, which stands a bulwark of safety between the nobility and the people, protecting the latter, while its splendour

reflects dignity and lustre upon the former. At eighteen, the young Hunt had the misfortune of losing his affectionate mother, in whom the pride of a noble descent was so blended with natural sweetness, that she moved through life with a dignified gentleness, that won all hearts and well-nigh broke them upon her ever lamentable demise, which took place on the 2nd of October 1773. To dissipate the youth's grief, his father sent him to the University of Oxford, where he formed those connexions with the Whig Aristocracy which have been strengthened by time, intercourse, and the sympathy of feeling on political subjects.

After leaving Christchurch he entered into high life, and attracted the attention of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, with whom a private friendship subsisted up to the demise of that ever-to-be-lamented, and ever-virtuous, monarch. Soon after his introduction in the Court circles, Mr Hunt's father dying, he became the representative of his noble house: but the seductions of favour and fashion never warped the mind of our hero, who found time, amidst the riot of the gay world, for the studies of the philosopher, and the writings of the moralist and the poet. To the blandishments of verse Mr Hunt was no stranger, as an anecdote, not generally known, will show. Shakspeare says—

> "The evil that men do lives after them:
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

So it was with our late monarch, and hero's patron, George IV. It is not known that the last George was the inventor of the artful stitch called fine-drawing. Mr Hunt, who happened to be acquainted with the fact that the honour of the invention belonged to the monarch, wrote upon the occasion a popular song, beginning

"Our King is a true British Tailor!"

which became a great favourite with the trade, and has indeed been parodied in a song in honour of his present Majesty. As a proof of the value in which the late King held Mr Hunt may be instanced the lodgings at Ilchester he gave him, in one of those houses the doors of which our sovereigns never shut against their people. Here Mr Hunt resided two or three years, which he has often declared were the best spent and happiest of his life. Here he enjoyed the conversation of a benignant governor; and received the visits of the neighbouring magistracy, whose especial regards he had fixed. From this period up to the late election for Preston, Mr Hunt's life has flowed in an even tide, his happiness only disturbed by the event which plunged the whole empire into a grief unparalleled in the history of affliction—we mean the deplored demise of his late Majesty, and some time father of his people, and friend, and protector, George IV.

The terms of the contest at Preston have been much misrepresented by the public press, which

never ceases to employ the arts of disparagement, or to blacken all that is estimable, great, good, and exalted in society. The fact is, that Mr Hunt and Mr Stanley were noble rivals, but not unfriendly or unmatched ones, for the honours of Preston. Indeed, Mr Stanley, on the occasion of Mr Hunt's offering himself, observed, in the language of Shakspeare—

> "We will this brother's wager frankly play:
> I will be thy foil, friend Hunt."

The issue is known. The stronger patrician claim of Mr Hunt, descended as he is from the De Heyntes, of Hounde Hall, Westmoreland, was preferred by a people penetrated with reverence for the worth and honour that come from a long line of ancestors, and who feel that men who thrill with the recollection of their sires' deeds are not likely to deviate from the paths of glory that have illustrated their names.

BIRMINGHAM MORALITY.

We regret to see the following vulgar course of remark in a provincial paper:—

"Paganini.—We have more than once felt

"disgust at the accounts we have heard of the "extreme sordidness and rapacity of this 'musical "phenomenon.' But seeing in what manner the "public treated him; seeing how they applauded, "exalted, and almost deified him, for his fiddling on "one string; seeing such universal homage paid "to his 'genius,' and so much adulatory incense "offered to propitiate his powers; seeing, in short, "almost all the rank and fashion, and even talent, "in the metropolis, ready to fall down and worship "the modern Orpheus, we thought, that perhaps, "after all, the public deserved more blame than "Paganini. It is well known, that even some of "our own 'most gracious and religious kings,' "who could 'do no wrong,' have been poisoned "out of their senses by excessive admiration— "how, then, could a poor Genoese fiddler be "expected to stand proof against it? No wonder "his head became giddy, and that his demands "rose with his own opinion of himself, till the "exorbitancy of his avarice at last awoke his "admirers from their stupor; and, like the "Orpheus of mythology, he 'drew the very "stones about him,' if not to listen to him, at least "to pelt him."

We should have thought that a writer, even in Birmingham, might have found sufficient exercise for his disgust at sordidness and rapacity, without laying hold of the example of a stray foreigner.

Paganini asks as much as he can get. Is the practice solitary in this money-getting nation? As Paganini's is an art of luxury, there is more excuse for his exaction. People will not pine or die who are unable to afford the price for his performance. It is not essential to health of body or peace of mind. The worst that can be said is, that he takes his advantage, and makes his profit of the curiosity of the world. It is envy of his success which is at the root of the disgust at his conduct. If virtue would employ its indignation on examples of grasping avarice, abundant subjects are to be had at home, and as we would first encourage native talent, let us first discourage the native vices. Is it ever asked by what vile means, by what base and grovelling arts, the respectable gentleman, the man of property and consequence, has accumulated his 20,000*l.* a-year? Are his bargains criticised, his practices on the necessitous reviewed and held up to abhorrence, his extortions reprobated, his vast profits from administering instruments to mischief execrated? Oh no, he is "the architect of his own fortune"—it matters not where or how the foundations were laid—he may have driven his stakes through the hearts of patriot heroes, so that by his own sordid skill he has crowned his own fortune. Look at the merchant who transacts a loan with a barbarous despot, for the subjugation of a gallant

people, struggling for their dearest rights—is he picked out for a scorned example of sordidness and rapacity? No, he does not make his hundreds a day by playing on a single string—it is only by lending power to mischief for the destruction and misery of thousands!

In the town of Birmingham, in which the paragraph quoted is published, manufacturers are employed in furnishing the Emperor of Russia with arms, to be turned against the Poles. Might not the writer of the Birmingham paper have exhausted his disgust upon these examples of sordidness and rapacity? Is the profit made by furnishing guns to play on the Poles, less base than the exorbitant profit made by playing on a fiddle? Oh, but the profit on the fire-arms supplied for that devilish use is not exorbitant—there is no exaction, no imposition on the Emperor of Russia. True, and why not? Because there is a competition in the market—because there are a hundred manufacturers ready to fabricate tools for the Devil himself, if he bade for them. And can we then rail at the sordidness and rapacity of a fiddler? Were there but one armourer, he would be a Paganini in his prices for daggers. The rapacity reviled in one, who has the field to himself, is common to many, but the competition of the market keeps them within bounds, and they who cannot give

range to their avarice, vent their virtuous indignation on him who can.

Let us pluck the beam out of our own eyes, before we criticise the mote in our brother's.

After all, Paganini does not make so much money as a Bishop, and, as he gives pleasure to the rich, instead of vexation to the poor, there can be no doubt as to the superiority of his claims. If the Bishops played the fiddle, we should not quarrel with them as we do; but they play nothing but the deuce with the beer and the skittle grounds.

ANTICIPATION.

EXTRACTS FROM A DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES, LITERARY, POLITICAL, MORAL, AND HISTORICAL, DATE 2793.

CROKER, OR CROAKER.—This word is derived from the name of a wag, who in a jocose way prophesied the most dismal events somewhere in the beginning of the nineteenth century. He gave out, in a merry vein, that the constitution of 1831 would be the destruction of society. He was made the subject of a comedy, still extant,

appropriately called *The Good Natured Man*, in which this passage occurs,

"Croker rhymes with joker."

BISHOPS.—The name *Bishops* is a corruption of *beer-shops*, about which they were remarkable for concerning themselves. They were very rich, as, seeing the danger of riches to souls, they devoted themselves to perdition, by taking to themselves all the poisonous wealth they could squeeze from their flocks.

SEE.—This etymology is rather obscure. Some say it is as *lucus a non lucendo*, from the blindness of those churchmen who held them, of which we have such abundant evidence in history.

GLORY—GORY.—In barbarous times, the spilling of blood was esteemed of great honour; hence, only the liquid consonant makes the difference between gory and glory.

HONOUR.—From the uses of this word, it would seem to be derived from the Greek Ονος, an ass. In the 18th and 19th centuries idle quarrels, and the absurd practice, called the duel, or the duehell, were styled "affairs of honour;" infamous debts were also called debts of honour; and members of Parliament of those ages, of whose folly we have such remarkable monuments, were called Onorable, or as some corruptly spell it, Honorable Gentlemen. Fielding corroborates this reading.

DUTIES—TAXES.—Hence, in the time of the

Boroughmongers, we see the phrase his Majesty's *dutiful* subjects. A book was written entitled the 'Whole Duty of Man.' It treated of Taxation in all its branches.

Customs.—In former ages the people of England were so much in the habit of paying taxes on every thing, that they called them the Customs. The customs of George IV seem to have been the worst in history; but his manners were admired, and his habits formed with extraordinary care, by a tailor named Weston.

Hume, David Joseph.—A historian, essayist, and orator, remarkable for the elegance of his style. Being a great advocate for economy, he was said to be friendly to the race of stewards. He gave offence by the freedom of his opinions, and was suspected of infidelity. He died, however, a sincere jumper, and in his will, founded the college for the education of persons of that popular persuasion.

Reverence.—From the French *rêver*, to dream. The Clergy, who were a sleepy, dreamy, set had therefore the title of *reverence*.

Divine.—A title of the Clergy, derived from *Dives*, as the clergy thought to maintain their respectability by wealth.

Parliament.—A compound from the French, of *parler*, to speak, and *mentir*, to lie. Hence truth was called unparliamentary language. Before the reformation, the great business of the houses of legislature was to deceive the people.

They openly called themselves the *estates*, and were cultivated for the benefit of the aristocracy.

'LAW, THE PROFESSION OF.—This is another curious corruption. For the Profession of the Law should be understood the Profession of the Lie, the practitioners priding themselves on making falsehood pass for truth. They were originally called Liars, a pronunciation yet to be heard in the provinces, and which was lengthened into Lawyers.

CHANCELLOR.—The seller of the chances in the great lottery of the law.

BOROUGH, OR BURROW.—So called from the hole in which rabbits shelter. They were skulking places abolished in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and at the dawn of good government.

IRELAND.—The land of *ire;* because the people were in perpetual feud.

THE CHARACTERISTIC TERMINATION IN *ly*.—The ly or *lie* is to be found in composition with all the descriptions of periodical writings of the nineteenth century in England. It was a termination expressive of their prevailing practice. There were the day-lie papers; the week-lie papers; the month-lie publications, and the quarter-lie reviews. Incessantly, instantly, curiously, magnificently, stupendously, certainly, surely, &c., were all compounds of the same words, and the lie is always traceable in their use, and they are resolvable into

incessant lie; instant lie; curious lie; magnificent lie; stupendous lie; certain lie; sure lie. To these the striking examples kingly and ministerially, or, the king-lie and ministerial-lie may be added. The word *men*dacity is probably derived from the common practice of men in those days.

THE DISEASED APPETITE FOR HORRORS.

THE landlord upon whose premises a murder is committed, is now-a-days a made man. The place becomes a show—the neighbourhood as the scene of a fair. The barn in which Maria Martin was murdered by Corder, was sold in toothpicks: the hedge through which the body of Mr Weare was dragged, was purchased by the inch. Bishop's house bids fair to go off in tobacco-stoppers and snuff-boxes; and the well will be drained—if one lady has not already finished it at a draught—at the rate of a guinea a quart. Really, if people indulge in this vile and horrid taste, they will tempt landlords to get murders committed in their houses, for the great profit accruing from the morbid curiosity! If a Bishop will commit a murder for 12*l.*,

which seems the average market price, the owner of a paltry tenement might find it worth while to entice a ruffian to make it the scene of a tragedy, for the sale of the planks and timbers in toothpicks, at a crown each. At all events, there will be a great interest in having an assassin for a tenant, if possible; and a Bishop might stand rent-free till detection made the harvest. Some of the newspapers make murder so much their staple of interest, and such large profits of it, that we have for some time apprehended that, in the event of a scarcity of subjects, the proprietors would find their account in killing their own mutton, *i. e.* committing their own murders.

THE YEAR 1831.

NEVER did a year open with such fair promise as 1831—the antecedent one had passed as a pageant of glory, as a triumph of the human race. Tyranny was struck down in France, and despotism every where reeled with the shock; the Poles had flung off their thraldom, and resisted their potent oppressor, with a success so disproportioned to means, that might seemed to have sprung from right. At home, the spirits of evil were downcast

and confounded. Power had passed to the side of justice, and political reformation appeared an instant consequence. The heart has sickened with the delay or disappointment of all these fair hopes. France is yet held by the fragment of one of her broken chains, and we have seen the Poles, after a long and gallant struggle, sink under their giant foe, amidst the sympathies of the whole world, and without one aiding hand. Yet sad and grievous as this was, who can say how it could have been otherwise, without greater mischief to the permanent interests of mankind? In the shock of a general war, the improvement of society would have lost a ground which in a hundred years it could not recover. In England, the enemies of mankind have rallied and made head; and at the close of the year, which so auspiciously commenced, our advance is only in project, the way obscure, and nothing certain but the rashness and obstinacy of our adversaries. The first Reform Bill had satisfied the country, closed all schisms, bound the whole people round the Government; men flung away their favourite projects, and gratefully accepted the measure which Government had generously tendered. We received it as an instalment of a great debt, it is true, but it was an instalment offered in ready money. With the nation in this mood, the policy was rapid operation, to carry the action on in some accordance with the warmth of public feeling—this, too, might

have been expected from the character of Lord Grey; but an opposite system has prevailed. The plan of the campaign was confined to the House of Commons; it had no bearing or reference to the twenty millions of people outside of those four walls. How the most tedious process would agree with excitement and impatience, was probably never considered. It was soon obvious that the House of Commons formed under the Wellington Administration, was unfit for the good work in hand; but nevertheless, the Ministry went on against all hope, till they came to an absolute check, which left no choice. The dissolution so compelled followed, and the country nobly retrieved the first error of its champions. The People, called into action, obtained a decisive triumph, in spite of all the arts of corruption. After this, things again relapsed to dulness, hesitation, and delay; enthusiasm languished, attention flagged. The cause of the people was, indeed, in the hands of the Ministers; but their spirit was not there, and a distaste arose at the manner of conducting it, which seemed cold to the public vehemence. Men turned, like Hagar in the desert, from the sight of the cherished object they could not help, or bear to see helpless. The deference, the parade of respect to unprincipled adversaries, was wormwood. Earnest action was desired, and not the prancings, bows, and courtsies of

a minuet *de la Cour*. The dislike of these misbestowed civilities was mistaken by the enemy for re-action, and doubtless that impression had much effect upon the Peers. Long before the Bill passed the Commons, it was as certain as any event dependent on human means, that it would be lost in the House of Lords. Ministers were quite prepared for the rejection; they only differed from each other in the calculation of the adverse majority, some rating it a little higher than others. But yet Lord Grey led up to sure defeat, though the means of victory were at his disposal. The Lords dared the indignation of the country, exemplified the uses of power, without qualification or responsibility,—and had their triumph. It was observed, that one more such triumph would be their doom. There has been much of the Fabian strategy in Lord Grey's policy, and will he give the Hannibal the one other costly victory which is to be his undoing?

To the New Bill we are more reconciled the more we consider it; but it is not to be denied that the people have received it, comparatively, with apathy. They are as anxious and resolved as ever for Reform, but one signal disappointment has abated their interest in the projects for it. Until the question of the Lords' Mastery is settled, they see no use in looking at a scheme for taking the fingers of those Lords out of the public purse. It

is like selling the bear's skin before he is subdued, against which La Fontaine warns us. It is also considered by some that Lord Grey may not have exhausted his defeats, and arrived by the last process at the residue of success. The Bill will therefore pass as coldly through the Commons as it was first received by the people, and with the demonstration, whether the Lords shall be irresponsible masters—that is to say, despots in the largest sense of the word—or not, the public excitement will again burst out. For the result we have no fear,—our Generals may throw away the victory and themselves, but the people, whenever called into action, will (as they have always done) retrieve the errors, and turn the tide of battle in utter rout and ruin upon their opponents.

A homely story will illustrate the present position and relation of powers. Two Highlanders set out on an expedition to steal the litter of a wild sow, which lay in a narrow-mouthed cave. Seizing the opportunity of the tender parent's absence, one of the men (whom, as the predatory, we will call the Tory party) crept in, and the other kept watch at the mouth. Presently, down came the sow distracted, as if, by the instinct of maternal concern, informed of what was passing, and rushed with menacing tusks to her door; the guard, as she slipped into the passage, had but just time to lay hold of her tail, and to give it a firm twist round his strong hand, then throwing himself down

and setting his feet against the sides of the pass, he held her fast. He had enough to do, and no breath to waste. The young pigs were squeaking under the hands of the Tory, and the old one, to the fondest of pig's hearts added the strongest of pig's sinews, and the most wilful of pig's purposes. The Tory inside the cave was too much engaged with the screaming little pigs to hear the tussle, but finding himself in darkness (much as the people do now), he called out to his mate to know what was the cause? The fellow, who by this time had found a pig's tail a most uneasy tenure, and who had no wind for explanations, expressively and briefly denoted the precise posture of the case in these words, "An the tail break, you'll see." The fable showeth that the Ministry has got the Country by the tail, and if it break, the Tory darkened in the cave will see, in a very ugly form and practical way, the cause of some irregular phenomena he has never been able to understand.

CONSTITUTIONAL READINGS.

NOTHING in the world is more arbitrary than Constitutional reading. The 'Morning Chronicle,' referring to a 'History of the House of Commons,'

by Mr Allen, says, "it is pleasant to find what Mr "Allen properly terms the universal law and prin- "ciple of free Governments,—'Quod omnes tan- "git, ab omnibus approbetur,'"* (the import of which is, that all shall have a judgment in what concerns all,)—"come out so pure and so clear."

The Ultra Tory, it is to be observed, does not dispute the maxim; "but," says he, "*ab omnibus* "must be taken with a limited signification, like "the *omnes* in stage directions, which does not "mean all the world, but the two or three persons "who happen at the time to be on the stage. *Ab* "*omnibus*, then, construed with this reasonable "limitation, signifies the coachman and gardener "at Gatton, or the publican at Sarum, or the dozen "electors at Beeralston."

The Whig here interposes, laughing outright at this construction of *ab omnibus*. He shows very clearly the absurdity of supposing that the *omnes* can be the coachman and gardener at Gatton, or the publican, "important *omnes solus*," at Sarum, or the dozen worthy persons at Beeralston; and decides that *ab omnibus* are to be understood the 10*l.* householders and freemen of boroughs.

The Radical now rushes in with his reading, and insists that *ab omnibus* does not mean 10*l.* house-

* We adopt this as a convenient wording, but the principle is more distinctly expressed in some of the old writs and expositions of Constitutional law, that all who are to be affected by legislation, should have a voice in election.

holders, any more than it means coachman and gardener at Gatton, or publican at Sarum, and, turning to the dictionary, he shows that it can intend nothing less than *all*, or, considering the context, that the *omnes* who are to approve, must be the same as the *omnes* who are affected by laws. Upon this both Whig and Tory set upon him, and say he is a villain, or a blockhead, for supposing that *omnes* can mean *all*, for that would be universal suffrage, and universal suffrage would be universal confusion, and anarchy, and destruction. The Whig and Tory therefore unite in hustling off this wickedly literal reader; but after they have pulled down their coat sleeves and re-adjusted their neckcloths and collars after the scuffle, and vented a few exclamations of incendiary! ragamuffin! low fellow! together with some cooling puffs of indignation, the Tory resumes:—"By-the-bye, my "good Sir, thoroughly agreeing that *ab omnibus* "cannot mean *all* people, as that would be univer- "sal suffrage, and universal suffrage would be uni- "versal confusion, and anarchy, and destruction, "do you not see that it also cannot mean 10*l.* "householders, because their enfranchisement "would be fraught with precisely the same terri- "ble consequences?"

"What," retorts the Whig, "do you pretend to "say that *ab omnibus* can mean your coachman "and gardener, or your tenant, the publican?"

"I say," rejoins the Tory, "that it cannot mean

" Revolution, and that if *ab omnibus* does not " mean, as the low rascal contended, *all*, it is as " easy to suppose that it means my coachman and " gardener, or my tenant the publican, as your 10*l.* " householders; or much easier, let me tell you, " as the common sense of mankind acting through " custom has long assented to their filling, as they " so worthily have done, and do, the *omnibus* de- " scription, and exercising the elective rights, *pars* " *pro toto.*"

" *Pars pro toto*,—good!" exclaims the Whig, " you are now coming to reason, friend Tory,— " *pars pro toto* is the true intention of the words " *ab omnibus approbetur;* but do you not see, my " good Sir, that the *pars pro toto* are my house- " holders, who exactly fill the *omnibus* which your " coachman could only drive? It is monstrous to " suppose that what concerns all, should be referred " to all through your gardener or publican, or a " handful of tenants and dependents, which would " be a little all indeed: but my householders, as " they make so much nearer an approach to an all, " are, so far, preferable."

The Tory hereupon exclaims, " So, then, though " you have joined me in flinging the Radical down " stairs, you make his reading of the maxim your " guiding principle after all, only treating it as you " Whigs always do treat a principle, as sailors do " the log, throw it overboard to see how far " you sail from it. If your householders are

" better than my coachman and gardener, inso-
" much as they are nearer to the *all*, how can you
" contend against the Radical that the perfection is
" not in going the whole way to the all. If the
" *ab omnibus* is too large a term to be filled by
" my gardener and coachman, or Lord Fingerfees'
" hundred voters, I am sure it is not filled by your
" housekeepers."

Upon this the Whig waxes wroth: " What, Sir,
" would you make me out a Radical? Because I
" would gather the fruit of a principle would you
" insist on my grubbing to the roots of the tree.
" *Ne quid nimis*, says Terence; half is better than
" the whole, says Hesiod; and so say I. Besides,
" my constituency including the middle class, will
" in a compendious way represent the interests of
" the poor—for all that concerns them concerns
" the poor."

Radical here rushes in again and objects: " But
" what concerns the poor does not always concern
" the middle classes, and seldom in the same
" degree. The weight that presses upon a man
" and upon the child may be the same, but the
" effect is far different, and so it is with the bur-
" thens on the richer and the poorer classes. Do
" you remember the leather tax, for instance,
" which was levied by the weight; the gentleman
" wore for luxury his light boot or shoe, and was
" lightly taxed accordingly; the tradesman had his
" stouter shoe, which paid a little more, enough to

" make an injustice, but not enough to affect his " purse to a degree worth thinking about; but the " ploughman and labourer, in his strong heavy " boots, paid the tax in sevenfold proportion, and " ate the less bread in consequence! Here was a " wrong of trifling concernment to the middle " classes, and of the greatest to the labouring."

Whig: " Aye, but remember the grievance was " redressed."

Radical: " True, but because leather was used " in other things than poor men's shoes."

Our *Tory* cheers up at this altercation, and, offering his hand to *Radical*, says, " Come, though " we differ about the signification of *omnibus*, I see " we are both of one mind about this infernal Bill, " which, you see, is only to create a Plutocracy in " lieu of the aristocracy, under which old England " has flourished. You will join with me in opposing " the Bill, and flinging this fellow, with his *omnibus* " of 10*l.* householders, out of window."

" Not at all," exclaims *Radical* earnestly— " every little helps; and oddly as he construes " *omnibus*, he goes a long step on my road. His " plan has some hitches, and may, for want of a " better principle, work with some inconveniences, " but it removes many more than it leaves; and, " further, we Radicals consider the feasible as well " as the desirable, and know that things cannot go " from the end of mischief to the end of perfection, " without passing through a middle. If the Reform

" prove sufficient, it leaves us nothing to desire,
" and corrects our theories; if it prove insufficient,
" it has yet in it virtue enough to work out its own
" completeness. We would not commit the mis-
" take of *Robinson Crusoe.*"

Tory:. " What mistake could any reasonable
" being commit like any thing which you unrea-
" sonable Radicals could avoid?"

Radical: " Why, to effect his deliverance from
" the desart island, he made him a boat, as big as
" he could desire for the passage of the ocean.
" With infinite pains and labour, he dubbed it into
" form, and delighted himself with thinking that it
" was as handsome and fine a boat as a man could
" wish, and with capabilities for a voyage of any
" length, and stowage for every thing needful.
" When it was finished, he found that there was
" only one fault in its plan—namely, that it was
" impossible to get it to the water, and equally im-
" possible to get the water to it. Because the boat
" was so very complete and full-sized, it was good
" for nothing. He then built him another, on a
" fitter scale for launching, which he succeeded in
" setting afloat."

Tory: " Aye, and it nearly upset him, as the
" Whigs will upset themselves, at sea."

Radical: " That was because he timidly hugged
" the shore, instead of boldly stretching his course
" out away from the land of desolation."

Tory: " Lord Grey's boat is too large now."—

Radical: "You would have him put to sea in a "washing tub. He has hit the precise size for the "combination of stowage and handiness; and no-"thing smaller would bear him upon the element "of public opinion."

Tory: "Public opinion! Bah!"

NEGLECT OF PROMULGATION.

At the Bristol Special Assize, after the indictment had been read against six prisoners at the bar, his Majesty's Attorney-General as counsel for the prosecution stated—

"An act, passed in the 7th year of Geo. IV., "applies to the offence with which the prisoners "are charged—*I need not observe that it is of the* "*last importance that this act should be made* "*generally known, and that the violation of it, by* "*riotously assembling and demolishing buildings,* "*leads to the punishment of death.*"

Aptly are the words chosen—"it is of the *last* importance that this act should be made generally known,"—and how is it to be made generally known? How does the barbarous system of English law provide for the publicity of the last importance? why by putting the halter round the necks of the six miserable creatures who have in

ignorance erred against the Statute, and incurred the punishment of death! If the knowledge of the law is of such importance—as surely the knowledge of a capital punishment is,—why is there no method of giving the warning before the blow? Why is the knowledge of "the last importance" suffered to lie hid, till the offence of the unwary gives the occasion for publicity?—Why is the knowledge of "the last importance" first heralded by sentence of death?—Why must the law lie like a snare till blood marks the place of danger?

The name of PROMULGATION is unknown to English jurisprudence. How do the great mass of the people learn the existence of a new law, or the slumbering law for an unusual offence?—why, by seeing men hanging, who, like themselves, have been ignorant of the consequences of the particular crime. The gallows is the great teacher, the only guide, the only popular index to our sanguinary criminal code. The maxim says, that ignorance of law does not excuse offence; the Attorney-General says it is of "the last importance" that the law should be known, and by what means is it known,—what is the process?—Why, what we see at Bristol, —men by the half-dozens on trial for their lives! The poor wretches find out the law when they are placed in the dock; their prosecutor is the promulgator, who teaches them that they have done what it is death to do; and while, for the first time, the principal law officer of the Crown, the King's

Attorney-General makes this terrible truth known to them, he emphatically declares it of "the last importance" that the law, which has not been known to them, should be known to others—and why? To prevent crime, and save others from its penal consequences, is the answer. And why, the prisoners would rejoin, were not their crimes prevented by timely warning?—why were they not saved from consequences by the fore-knowledge, now pronounced so important?—Why is society, through their fates, first to learn the law that condemns them, and threaten others? Are acts of Parliament diffused? is it even supposed by the Legislature that the debates in which capital punishments are discussed and enacted, are reported to the people; and even if the Statute-book were accessible to the mass of the people, would it be intelligible? Is it not written in a jargon obscure to the clearest understandings, wanting the technical skill? But there is a frontispiece which all can comprehend, there is a picture which illustrates the most perplexed text, there is a guide, an index to the darkest passages, to the obscurest enactments, and it is an execution. The rope is the clue to all the mysteries of English law, Death the great instructor. By destroying one set of ignorant creatures, another set are made acquainted with the provisions of justice. This is the English system of promulgation. It is teaching by example, which saves

expense in printing. We know not what is or was the amount of the salary of the King's printer, but the additional business of promulgating laws would have much increased it, and the judges and executioner, between them, notify new capital punishments at a wonderfully small cost, and the rule of law is set forth with the impressiveness of a deadly illustration. On the score of economy no objection is to be made to the present mode of promulgation. By the aid of the press (and without it how would the law be known, even in its punishments?) the act, 7th of Geo. IV. will be made known throughout the united kingdoms at the expense of the trials, and——some human lives. To publish a law in every part of the country might save lives, but it would cost a larger sum of money than the trials; and while we have a pension list for panders, demireps, and sycophants; a large army, and costly embassies to maintain, for Lords Johns and Thomases; there will be of necessity economy in some place in which it is a scandal to humanity. Supposing that the saving of money is of more consequence than the prevention of crime and saving of life, it cannot be denied that the mode of promulgation of law by the cheap and easy punishment of death is defensible; but if on the other hand, while a Government is profligate in its extravagancies, it may be expected to be just in its jurisprudential system, ours—typified, as old Fuller says, politic revenge is, "by gunpowder, which

bites before it barks"—is the most atrocious that disgraces any nation pretending to civilization or humanity. Is it possible, that when the Attorney-General uttered the words we have quoted, with the six trembling wretches at the bar before him, for the first time hearing the terrible punishment allotted to their actions, by a law, the common knowledge of which was emphatically pronounced of the last importance,—is it conceivable that he could have pronounced the reproach to our system of jurisprudence without horror and disgust, at its enormous and barbarous impolicy? Surely his mind must have recoiled at the import of his own words—

> "If damned custom have not brazed it so,
> That it be proof and bulwark against sense."

Here was the first law officer of the Crown declaring the vast importance of making known a recent enactment, for the promulgation of which no steps of any sort had been, or ever are in such cases, taken by the State, and which only could come into notice by this very course of a prosecution of men, in all human probability as ignorant of it as our Legislators are of every principle of juridical science. But "damned custom," as Shakspeare well calls evil habits, admits of no shame, of no penetration,—and we can too easily imagine Sir Thomas Denman uttering that enormous reproach to our brutally careless system, at once blind and bloody, improvident and ferocious—

without a sense of the bearing of his words, or a touch of remorse at finding himself prime instrument of so barbarous a policy. This time last year the peasantry were taught that rick burning was a capital crime,—how? by hanging them. This year, the townspeople are taught that demolishing buildings is a capital crime,—how? by hanging simply. Such is the course of State instruction!

Are we yearly to have a Special Commission to hang men for ignorance?

The apprehended consequences of actions are men's rules of conduct; but if the consequences are unknown to them, the rule is wanting; and yet law is defined as a rule of command or prohibition. The State takes no trouble to promulgate laws,—nay, it does not couch them in a language commonly understood, they are wrapped up in a technical jargon—and to the parties affected, how do unknown laws differ in cruelty from *ex post facto* laws, the atrocity of which all will agree in condemning. The punishment when it falls is clear—hanging is intelligible to every understanding—all else is obscure and uncertain, and the duty of making it other than obscure and uncertain has never yet occurred to the State. The Legislature is content to dig the pitfalls, and to leave the unlucky to discover them by their misfortunes. The Statute-book is one great collection of steel-traps and spring-guns, *without notice.*

Wisely Bentham observes—and what he says of

the common law is as applicable, in respect of practical operation, to the statute law—

"As with other parts of the law by which the "fate of every man is disposed of, so it is with this. "They tell him he ought to know it; they give "him no means of knowing it; they see he does "not know it; they do nothing to make him know "it; they do everything to keep him from know- "ing it; they have brought it into a state in "which it is impossible for him to know it; they "say it is: they insist that it is; they say his igno- "rance of it is no excuse; and, in all imaginable "ways, they punish him for not knowing it.

"Legislation, genuine legislation, has her trum- "pet: instead of a trumpet, the law of jurisprudence "employs a sword. A sword, or a rod: such, and "such alone, are the instruments of promulgation "that ever are or can be employed by what is "called common law. Punishment instead of in- "struction; punishment without instruction, with- "out warning; such is the form in which the law of "jurisprudence gives all its lessons. When a man "has a dog to teach, he falls upon him and beats "him: the animal takes note in his own mind of the "circumstances in which he has been beaten, and "the intimation thus received becomes, in the mind "of the dog, a rule of common law. Such is the "law; such the unpunishable, and even inevitable, "yet not the less grievous and deplorable, tyranny, "to which, through the whole extent of the law of

"jurisprudence, the legislator abandons the com-
"munity entrusted to his charge. Men are treated
"like dogs; they are beaten without respite, and
"without mercy; and out of one man's beating,
"another man is left to derive instruction as he
"can."—*Rationale of Evidence.*

SEVERITY OF PUNISHMENT.

We earnestly hope that his Majesty's advisers, in their view of the cases of the poor creatures lying under sentence of death at Bristol, will not allow their minds to be biased by the apprehension of any construction which an unprincipled faction may choose to put upon their conduct. It would be shocking, indeed, should government be induced to strangle those five men merely to please a party, or rather to avoid its clamour; for, in truth, ministers could not please the opposition more, than by giving it this subject for complaint. Such a point of attack would, however, only make the enemy more odious, for the country abhors the punishment of death (except for murder), more than it abhors the crimes to which it is awarded. Even in cases of destruction of human life, circumstances of excitement are taken into account; premeditation, or

the absence of it, is considered, and regard is had to the state of mind of the criminal. According to the character of these circumstances, the act is pronounced manslaughter, or murder; and punished in proportion to the shades of guilt. And for the destruction of a house, is a more rigorous and blind rule of justice to be enforced, than for the destruction of a human life? For unpremeditated outrages, which commenced in a provoked irritation, which passed step by step, through intoxication and frenzy, to the last excesses, is no allowance to be made? Is no distinction to be taken between offences of this sort and those which have originated in the settled design of plunder and mischief?

An important circumstance in favour of the condemned at Bristol is, that no acts of brutality or violence to persons are laid to their charge, and the more lawless was the moment, and the more wild was the scene, and heated and unbridled the passions, the more remarkable was the absence of any outrages of cruelty or malice. On the contrary, at Manchester in 1819 when the yeomanry were let loose on the mob, and in cold blood, the masters paid off, with the sabre and horses'. hoofs, many an old grudge with their men, and for such vindictive execution, they had his then Majesty's thanks.

The fact that the judge left the five men to be strangled at Bristol, without testifying any sense of the undue severity of the punishment, is one to

which no importance will be attached. Judges are naturally humane as other men, but custom dulls their impressions, and they get the habit of seeing nothing but the case and the rule, and losing all regard to the moral fitness of the one to the other. Hajji Baba says, that when first he became an executioneer it wrung his heart, but after he had once got his hand in, he could have impaled his own father, without a notion of any cruelty. Judges are seldom dissatisfied with strangling according to law. But should the condemned suffer at Bristol, it will not be to the callousness of judges that the severity will be attributable—they will, in effect, be strangled "at the particular desire of several persons of distinction." Mercy will be shown them, if the weak and unworthy dread of the clamour of faction be not allowed to thwart it.

To prisoners of competent understanding, how grievous must be the mockery of reason which accompanies the enunciation of the law. Drily to tell a man that he must die, is terrible; but an additional bitterness is flung in, by telling him he must die for some absurd cause. At the Nottingham assizes, the judge (Littledale) was manifestly as his wit's end for an explanation of the fitness of the law, and the necessity for the severe punishments. Beginning with the destruction of mills, he said—

"The wisdom of the legislature, for the purpose "of protecting property of this description, has

" affixed to the commission of this crime the penalty " of death; and most wisely has the policy of the " law inflicted the greatest penalty which is known " in the administration of the criminal justice of " the country."

This is superlative praise, but nothing more. The poor trembling wretches at the bar knew too well that the penalty of death for the destruction of that description of property had proved no protection for it against themselves, in their ignorance and excitement, and their very case showed how futile was this boasted perfection of wisdom in the Legislature—for what is the effect of such perfection of wisdom in the Legislature, while there is profundity of ignorance in the persons whose minds are to be operated on? Here it might have appeared, that the Judge had exhausted his laud of the law, as most wisely it had punished with death the destruction of mills; but, turning to another prisoner, who had fired a house, he stated, that for this offence also death is the penalty, and with *more* reason, as persons are endangered; and thus, it seems, that the Legislature, most wise in its enactments for mills, is something *more* than *most* wise, *plusquam perfect*, on houses, which, nevertheless, after this ultra-superlative wisdom, are yet fired. It is clear enough that the summit, the sublime of legislative wisdom, is thought by the learned to be the gallows, and it is a perfection easily mounted to; but the question remains, in some few millions

of unprofessional minds, whether there is not more of facility than effect in this resource. That the perfection of legislative wisdom is esteemed to be the employment of that simple machine, the gallows, is proved by this circumstance, that Judges are never heard to commend the milder punishments as evidences of consummate wisdom, as ordinations most wise, or something *more* than *most* wise. Death is the *summum bonum* of legislative resource, and beyond it fortunately their wit cannot go; for, oh! had the omnipotence of Parliament run beyond the grave, the snaring of a hare would have been visited with six centuries of purgatory; and to sedition an eternity of torment would have been allotted. But, happily, the cruelty of man to man has its limits, and when the Judge has no mercy, he makes it known by this sign, that he invokes the Lord's on the behalf of the prisoner's soul. The prisoner's life is taken for the good of mills, or the convenience of bankers, or some such matter, and Heaven is implored to be indulgent by man, the mouth-piece of such ruthless laws. We know, that by attaching importance to the lives of creatures in shabby clothes, we expose ourselves to an abundance of sarcasm, and the reproach of *cant*, which is ever applied to any profession of concern for the labouring orders; so impossible is it supposed that any such concern can be really felt.

Mr. Martin was believed to be sincere in his zeal

for horses, oxen, and jackasses, but it is incredible to some of our Aristocracy, that any one can be really interested in the just treatment of the 'unwashed' classes. When the French Ministers—who had poured out blood as water, and plunged a great city into the worst horrors of the worst war—were lying in peril of death, every proud heart was throbbing with tender commiseration, and the keenest anxiety; and no interest, no exertion, was spared to avoid the horrid sacrifice of life:—but *they* were gentlemen, they had sat at great men's boards, and had come within the pale of humanity at routs. Indeed Polignac had entered the heart of society at Almack's. Aristocratic sympathy in England does not descend below the dining-parlour. Waving, therefore, the argument of humanity—of tenderness to life—which will be treated only with scorn, when the objects are out of the pitiable patrician conditions, we may yet raise the question of efficiency, and ask whether the constant recourse to the simple and easy expedient of death, without diminishing crime, may not argue the extreme unskilfulness, rather than the *plusquam perfect* wisdom of legislators. All the knots of crime are severed by the sword;—is there the dexterity to unravel, or only the power to cut the thread of life? What would be thought of the official watchmaker, who, instead of correcting the faults in the watches submitted to his skill, should knock them to pieces with a hammer? Death saves a vast

deal of trouble; nothing is so easy, so simple, as to direct it,—it is the first punishment that occurs in a state of barbarism, and the more untaught, uninformed, unthinking and careless, legislators are, the more resort will be had to it.

Mr. Justice Littledale, having separated the prisoners intended to suffer from those against whom the mock sentence was to be recorded, explained to the elect of vengeance, that he lamented he could not recommend any others to mercy, but a serious example was necessary to be made. In other words, it was requisite to hang somebody. In recapitulating the charges against two of the prisoners, the Judge, probably feeling the insufficiency of them to warrant the punishment, threw in this consideration:—

"You, George Hearson, have added to the enor-
"mity of your first crime that of setting up an
"*alibi*, which the Jury have very properly treated
"as founded in falsehood."

Again, to Charles Berkins:—

"Further, to increase your offence, you have set
"up a false *alibi*, and evidence has been given
"about your shirt, which the Jury disbelieved."

We were not aware that a prisoner could be punished for his defence, and yet Mr. Justice Littledale distinctly states that the crime was *increased* by the defence, and for such "increased crime" he allots the extreme punishment. The men were found guilty of the specific acts laid to their charge

in the indictment; and what right had the Judge, when applying the punishment, to introduce a circumstance which had not made a part of the accusation, or come within the scope of the Jury's verdict.

As for the falsehood of the *alibi*, what does the law teach but the convenience of resort to falsehood—how does it proceed but through forms of falsehood—how does it propose to get at truth but by casting for it a mesh of lies? Is the prisoner allowed to go to trial till he has paid the tribute of a lie to the forms of law—is he not called upon to declare himself *not* guilty, as if to get his tongue into tune for the grand mendacity in process? And if he decline this plea, and admit his guilt, does not the ermined Judge, the great searcher for truth—who, like other searchers, possess not the thing for which he seeks—implore him to retract his plea, and, by the easy utterance of a falsehood, take his chance of the prizes to guilt in the lottery of justice?

HEREDITARY LEGISLATION.

THE Lords have introduced into the Bill abolishing the punishment of death for forgery, the same notable provision for the commission of injustice

which they fixed on the Cattle-stealing Act. They have made sentence of transportation for life compulsory in cases of forgery. Lord Wynford, the author of this heinous absurdity, said—

"He was disposed to think that the alteration "should be made in this Bill similar to that in the "Cattle-stealing Bill namely, that the Judge "should be allowed no discretion, but should be "bound, in cases of forgery, to pronounce sen-"tence of transportation for life, allowing the cul-"prit, of course, an ultimate appeal to the mercy "of the Crown."

What is the Court of Mercy to which appeal is to lie? A Court in which Carelessness commonly presides as Judge, and occasionally gives place to Favour. The door-keeper to this Court is the Secretary of State for the Home Department. It is to him that the appeal first lies; it is on his discretion that the entertainment of it depends, and he forwards it on, if he thinks proper, to the King in Council. According to the principle on which they proceed, why do not the Lords direct transportation for life for picking pockets, or the very slightest offences, relying on the mercy of the Crown to mitigate the punishment according to the character of the case? The Judge in the Criminal Court has heard all the evidence, and marked the circumstances in the delivery of it, and the bearing of the witnesses, all of which things help to the perception of the truth; he has had the

best opportunities of forming a judgment on the complexion of the crime, but the Lords refuse him the discretion of apportioning the punishment to it! The Secretary of State knows nothing of the evidence, except what he gathers from a dry report, or an interested memorial; he is unpractised in investigation, unaccustomed to seize the clues to guilt or innocence; but he is the person whom the Lords conceive fitter than the Judge to decide whether the convict's case is one for the appointed punishment, or for an abridgment of the term!

Does the convict deserve banishment for life, or civil death? If he does not deserve so severe a punishment, the sentence is unjust, and it is an impudent mockery, a Courtly lie, to call the prerogative, which comes in remedy of the injustice of the law, *mercy*.

It should ever be observed, that in the interval between laws of excessive severity and the dispensing power of the Crown, (called mercy) a despotism has range. In this field, arbitrary severity or indulgence has exercise. If the convict be obnoxious or uncared for, the harsh law has its course; if he be an object of concern to the great, the *mercy* of the Crown will not be wanting. By the new enactments, the number of cases of disproportioned punishment will be so considerable, that the Home Secretary will not be at the trouble of inquiring into them, except when an application

happens to be recommended to his attention by extraordinary interest.

The necessity for a Court of Appeal from the Criminal Courts is made doubly urgent by the wide increase which the Lords are making of the province for the mercy of the Crown—which province is always co-extensive with the barbarity of the law. But improvement cannot have its course till the House of Lords be reformed. The new Parliament must soon come into collision with the Peers, which will bring the strife between the Lords of Misrule and reason to a termination.

The Lords insist on continuing the punishment of death for the forgery of wills and powers of attorney, though the difficulty of committing these frauds takes away the common pretence for extraordinary severity in the punishment of them. There is only one thing more unreasonable than the legislation of the Lords in this and innumerable other instances, and that is, the patience of the people with such legislation.

Lord Wynford declares his belief, that the gallows in perspective is a great prevention to crime. On the contrary, when the gallows is in perspective, and the probability of escaping it, through the chances of law and the compassion of prosecutors, is great, it becomes an encouragement to crime; for all regard to the more likely secondary punishment is lost in the satisfaction of thinking

that the worst is avoided. A man might have much fear of transportation, if it alone were set before his mind, as the probable consequence of a crime: but when death is the punishment threatened, and he has reckoned on the many chances of escaping it, the lighter evil seems hardly worthy of his consideration, and, in the elation of escaping the more fearful penalty, the secondary one loses the terror which might otherwise belong to it.

LORD GREY ON THE IRISH CHURCH.

"When nations are to perish in their sins,
'Tis in the Church the leprosy begins."—COWPER.

AT the opening of the Session, this promise was held out in the King's Speech:—

"In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition "has been made to the payment of tithes, attend-"ed, in some instances, with afflicting results; "and it will be one of your first duties to inquire "whether it may not be possible to effect improve-"ments in the laws respecting this subject, which "may afford the necessary protection to the Es-"tablished Church, *and at the same time remove*

"*the present causes of complaint.* But in this, "and in every question affecting Ireland, it is "above all things necessary to look to the best "means of securing internal peace and order."

Who could have conceived, that by this was meant to improve the condition of the Irish Clergy, which Lord Grey now explains to be the object proposed? This is not only an insult to reason, an insult to justice,—it is an insult to humanity. Let the words be written on that wretched land of blood and want,—that wilderness in the expanse of civilization, where man is to be found nearest to the condition of the naked savage, but all-accomplished in mischief; naked, starving, but feasting on vengeance; knowing every extremity of suffering, and voluptuary withal in revenge:—the first wants of the creature miserably denied, the worst appetites of the devil riotously glutted;—let it be written on this land of Cain, that the grand object of our political regenerators is, to improve the condition of the Clergy, whose faith is alien to it. Let all who witness the miseries of Ireland, label them with those words,—'improve the condition of the Clergy.' On the very maps where the name appears which bespeaks all the woes and mischiefs man the master can inflict on man the slave, we would have written the Grey motto, IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF THE CLERGY. We would brand the words on every sign of sufferings,—on every cir-

cumstance of misery,—on every sad token of distress. It should be labelled on every rag of wretchedness,—on the sea-weed, which the perishing creatures swallow, against revolting nature, to stop the gnawings of famine; it should be written on every cold hearth, and on every desolate cabin —"improve the condition of the Clergy." Let it be graven too, as the hand-writing on the wall, on the palaces of the pampered Prelates, signifying, that the cup of abomination is full to the last drop, and that retribution is at hand. Let it be the label of priestly luxury, the motto of those "who make God's work a sinecure," as well as the scroll on the miseries they have pinched, and would pinch still more. We thank the Earl Grey for his words: they are as the consummation. Every man who reads his Bible knows how to construe them.

"Woe to the shepherds that do feed themselves;—ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with "the wool; but ye feed not the flock."

The verse follows hard upon it,—

"Neither shall the shepherds feed themselves "any more; for I will deliver my flock from "their mouth, that they may not be meat for "them."

This should be the lesson for the appointed Fast-day; this 34th cap. of Ezekiel, which sets forth the state of things, without the addition of *improving the condition* of the shepherds without

flocks—the shepherds who eat the fat, and clothe with the wool of the sheep of another's fold.

Lord Grey promises that all the powers of the Government shall be employed to enforce the rights of the Clergy; a part of which rights are notoriously composed of the wrongs of the poor. We shall see how the Earl keeps his word. We shall see that power, which has been so weak in vindication of the rights of the nation against an usurping oligarchy, wielded in full might, and with all resources, in the cause of Church exaction, against the miserable people of Ireland. Here we shall see illustrated the motto of our Ministry, —the scroll of its spirit,—*Parcere superbis et debellare subjectos.* With the plunderers of the public they have been long suffering and indulgent, but when they come to deal with the recusant of tithes, the resisters of an exaction for which there is no service rendered, then we shall see the might of this Ministry put forth,—then will be no parleys, or reserves, or waivers, but the prompt vigour of a rigorous law; for they will then not be contending under the banner of the God of Justice, circumspect and deliberative, nicely weighing, and scrupulous, but of the God of the High Priests, which is Mammon, greedy and rapacious, fierce and forward as a wolf;—a howl and a spring, a gluttonous and a merciless tooth.

Readers of the book of mercy, worshippers of

the spirit of charity, and self-renouncement, which makes the essence of Christianity, we pray you to mark the words which, unrebuked of Bishops, passed from Lord Ellenborough in the House of Mischief.

"He thought it was desirable that the Clergy "should be enabled, by some mild and cheap pro- "cess, to attach not only the property, but "*the persons of the corn tithe-payers*, and to "recover their dues. As the law now stood, "there was no power of breaking up the combi- "nators, as nothing could effect that but a cheap "and speedy method of attaching the person."

Such is a mode proposed for improving the condition of the preachers of that religion, one of whose precepts it is, that, if sued for their coat, they shall render the cloak also! Imagine the disciples of the Most Meek, the apostles of peace, and preachers against strife and contention, flinging their fellow-beings into gaols for pelf! Well does a contemporary describe this as a project for putting Ireland into prison. Where, it asks, are the gaols to be found? We will answer the question. There are buildings which have never contained congregations, or been used, except as instruments for extortion, which might be aptly converted to prisons, as they have served only to pauperization and to crime. Let us bring again under the consideration of our readers a case which we quoted before.

"In the county of Louth a clergyman, having "served nearly two hundred processes in his "parish, and finding it impossible to procure a "proctor to levy the execution, called, in his "capacity as a magistrate, on a troop of Dragoons "stationed in the neighbourhood, to aid the col- "lection. The Dragoons came to the spot, and "on inquiring how they were to proceed, they "were surrounded by the peasantry, one of "whom, a Stalworth Presbyterian, offered himself "to the captain, stating that he had been served "regularly with the process — that he had no "money; but that he offered his person, and was "ready to proceed to Dundalk goal, if the officer "chose to arrest him. This was a signal for the "rest, and a number of them made a similar "tender."

The Dragoons (what servants of the apostles of Christ!) faced about, and nothing was done. Nor can any thing be done; for, as Mr O'Connell has stated, there is no violence in the resistance of the people. The law is allowed to take its course; but when the cattle are distrained, there are no bidders. Against this passive resistance force is unavailable. Let Earl Grey take his measures for improving the condition of the Clergy—let Lord Ellenborough give up the bodies of the miserable debtors to the Church creditors—let the men of mercy fill the gaols with them, and call upon the Government to provide a dozen more

gaols for every Church without a congregation:—let all this happen, and more, and out of this bruising of humanity a precious and redeeming essence shall come,

"Like crush'd perfumes exhaling to the skies."

Out of oppression is squeezed retribution, or, as Sheridan finely says,—"Wherever the heel of oppression is raised, trodden misery springs up, and glares around for vengeance."

Lord Grey declares, in contradiction of the benign sentiment of the King's Speech, which prefers *peace* to all other considerations, that obedience to the law, *coute qu'il coute*, shall first be compelled. But is the justice of the law not to be considered, before severe compulsion be attempted? Gesler, when he condemned Tell for not doing reverence to his cap on a spear, only punished lawlessness; he doubtless argued with Lord Grey's apologists,—the law must be vindicated, whatever it is,—the habits of obedience must not be disturbed; but in the issue, he found—

"The might that slumbers in a peasant's arm."

NEW MODE OF DOING JUSTICE.

LORD ALTHORP has given a more distinct explanation of the intention of Ministers with regard to the tithe system in Ireland. The design is simply, first, to compel obedience to the existing law, and afterwards to do justice. The resistance to the law is to be borne down, and then the causes justifying the resistance are to be removed. Ministers admit that the system is vicious, and must be amended: but, first, they allege it is necessary to teach people the duty of conforming to a system, no matter how vicious and indefensible it may be. To pursue the example in our last paper, this is as if Gesler had said, "I don't justify having decreed "reverence to my cap on a pole; it was absurd, "insolent, and tyrannical to exact it; but lawless-"ness I cannot abide,—and before I consent to "retract my commands, I must insist on universal "obedience to them, and make an example of "William Tell, the precedent of whose contempt "of law would be so dangerous."

Mr Stanley, with infinite simplicity, observed, that they designed the measures of coercion first, because coercion is easier than remedy. Supposing the patient be bound hand and foot, we admit that

it is easier to cut his throat than to cure a fester; but this is not the posture of Ireland, which will be very apt to make its hands guard its head against Mr Stanley's ready knife. The plan of Ministers is an improvement on the procedure of Rhadamanthus, who punished first and heard afterwards, for they have heard and determined in favor of the parties whom they design to punish for resisting an iniquitous system. They announce,—"We "shall give judgment in your favour, but it is first "necessary that we should crush you, for having "so effectually resisted the abuses we cannot "defend."

The morality of this is extremely curious, and would call for much observation, but for the circumstance that the thing proposed is impossible.* The law is set aside by the people, abrogated by the will of a nation, and condemned by the Government, and it can never be restored to authority. The people are unanimous in refusing to pay tithes, and no one will resume the practice as tribute to extortion. If they ever were to pay them again, they would pay them for ever; and this they well know. The system is condemned, not because it is vicious and mischievous in every possible way, but because it can no longer be enforced. The maxim at the heart of rulers is this: "*omnia ferre, si potes et debes*"—*all-endurance should all endure.* When oppression becomes impracticable, when the

* The event has proved the correctness of this judgment.

load is flung down, redress is at hand; but let not the Minister be trusted who says, "Just take up "the burthen again on your galled shoulders, and "then, I vow, I'll lighten it; and if you refuse, "I'll signalise the justice of my purpose by knock-"ing your brains out."

Such instances of misconception of powers as that under consideration should soften any angry feelings towards his Majesty's Ministers, who show an infantine simplicity which disarms grave resentment. As we see, in humble life, one child carrying another almost as large as itself in its arms, so we see Lord Althorp in charge of Lord Grey, and dandling him through an explanation. The babe crows, and the little nurse interprets what it means to say. Any apparent cruelty in their designs is referable not to malignant purpose, but to the thoughtlessness of children who know not what they do. They talk of putting down a people as the babe crushes the fly. Poor innocents! they will know better in time. They are little Cupids, whose darts carry not destruction, but desires. They aim an arrow at disobedience, and inflame with the love of justice.

THE IRISH CHURCH TEMPORALITIES BILL.

AGAIN and again we return to the Sinecure Church of Ireland, warning the people of England that it is on that ground the first pitched battle is to be fought against the Grey Ministry's injustice, and that if they suffer a corrupt Commons House to fix the abuse with the point of the bayonet upon the Sister Country, they will permit of the most signal victory over their own cause, and soon taste the consequences of the triumph. Nothing is disguised in this case, the naked wrong has no shred of sophistry to cover its shame. Injustice, indeed, seems rather to make a parade of the circumstances of grievance and intended oppression, as if to show how falsely it has been charged with popular principles. This would appear to be the practical answer to adversaries who attribute to it designs of sweeping improvement, and oppose the Reform Bill as conveying to the democracy an uncontrollable power in the State. On the Irish Tithe System Ministers challenge the question whether they are dangerous Reformers, whether they are men with whom no abuse is safe, or rather, whether they are not, on this foul ground, more Tory than the Tories

themselves, who are ranged, to a man, in their line of battle? We incline to the opinion that they are, in this instance, more Tory than the Tories; for the Tories, in the same case, would not have dared to confess the character of the abuse they were endeavouring to perpetuate. The Tories would never have ventured to admit that the Protestant Church of Catholic Ireland was a sinecure, and that the tithes were a pernicious tax. The Tories would have held fast to falsehood, applauded every thing existing, and, on the score of the virtue of the system, demanded the extraordinary powers for its support. It is going far beyond them to say, "Here has been a great grievance, which "must be redressed, but we will punish those who "have resisted it, and brought about its correction. "Here is an enormous sinecure, a vast and costly "establishment, rendering nothing but offence for "its maintenance; and it shall be continued by a "device upon which we have hit,—a shift of the "burthen, and which the corrupt House of Com-"mons we have denounced as destitute and un-"worthy of the confidence of the nation shall "settle, because, as *simile simili gaudet*, it, by force "of its very corruption, will be more friendly to "this Sinecure Church of Ireland, which, next "after an unrepresentative House of Representa-"tion, is surely the greatest and most impudent "of abuses." The ready inference also from this is, that the pending Reform Bill cannot be the

measure so decidedly democratic as is represented, if its authors can reckon on permanently settling so enormous an abuse on the very eve of its coming into operation. Faint must they suppose its virtue to be, if it be not capable of upsetting the Sinecure Church in the Sister Country, on whatever basis it be placed. Indeed, a sufficient reason for disturbing the arrangement should be the fact that this Parliament effects it. Figs are not, as Mr Stanley quotes in his speech, to be expected of brambles; and a House, corrupted as this admits itself to be, must be incapable of arbitrating on an abuse kindred to its own vice. This is a fact which should ever be borne steadily in mind, and considered in relation to all the late acts of the self-condemned Legislature. Its reform it has set about pretty much with the morality of *Macheath*, lest a worse thing happen to it; but even its reform must in some considerable degree be tainted by the vice which is admitted so largely to possess it. But whatever may be thought of the measure of reformation, had Ministers acted with a becoming sense of their duties, and the nature of their task, they would have refused to bring any matter (not pertaining to the very wheels of Government) under the consideration of the House, while it remained unworthy and unpossessed of the nation's confidence. Instead of this course, however, they submit to it the arrangement of the second abuse of the empire, and swell their majority with all the

pus and venom in the House; ranking among their supporters, the veteran jobbers, the advocates of all malversation, and the inveterate enemies of all good objects; or, to speak more comprehensively, the enemies of the people, in all climes and conditions.

In the debate on the Irish Church Temporalities Bill on Tuesday, after Sir Robert Peel's speech, Lord Althorp, in ecstasies at having such high sanction for the course of his government, said—

"He rejoiced that he had given way to the "Right Hon. Baronet, who, throughout his speech, "had eloquently expressed the sentiments which "he should feebly have uttered."

We have not a doubt of this: we have not a doubt of the identity of sentiment between Lord Althorp and the wily Baronet on this question; we have not a doubt of Lord Althorp's rapture at such respectable agreement, nor have we a doubt that he would have expressed himself feebly. But why are we to see this eagerness to slaver the arch-foe of the cause in which the Minister is engaged? Why is there such eagerness to accredit the Tartuffe? Why is it to seem that the counsels of Government derive the highest sanction from the approbation of the man at the head of the anti-national faction? We have all, now and then, occasion to exclaim, what! can the devil speak truth? but no one goes into raptures, and makes a sanction of the devil's words. These appearances

can only be accounted for by supposing a great lack of earnestness, or an abject timidity, which seeks to disarm hostility by prostration. We repeat, that the motto of our Ministry is, *Parcere superbis et debellare subjectos.* Contrast the cringing of Ministers to Sir Robert Peel and others, whose opposition to Reform has kept the country in a state of fever for the last twelve months, paralyzed trade, and beggared industry; contrast, we say, their bearing to these authors of the cruelest calamities, with the truculent language they hold towards the poor miserable creatures in Ireland who have kept the Sinecure Parsons out of their unearned tithes for the last year or two! When Mr Stanley speaks of the conspirators against the Clergymen's dues in Ireland, his nostrils breathe fire,—there is the bullet and the bayonet in every threat, and blood is as water; but when the caballers against a people's rights are addressed, no language is delicate enough for dissent, or sweet enough for accord. And yet, as to public mischief, the effect of the Irish lawlessness will not bear comparison with the mischiefs produced by the Tory cabal. Thousands are here out of work, or short of work, through the agitation of the public mind, and the general want of confidence.

Mr Stanley admits that the Protestant Church in Catholic Ireland is Sinecure, and adds—

"That the direct and immediate payment—the "transfer of property from the peasant to the

" ministers of a religion in which he himself did " not believe—the payment by the Catholic pea- " santry to the Protestant Clergy was one and the " chief source of the grievance."

Yet, shortly afterwards, he states—

" As far as the matter had yet been looked at, " *it appeared, that to maintain the Clergy of the* " *Established Church, estates should be granted to* " *the Clergy of the Established Church.* He was " aware of some objections to that plan, but he " was not sure that a rent-charge reserved to the " Clergy, or a portion of the land, was not the best " way to provide for the Clergy and make them " useful."

To make them useful! How the deuce is paying them to make them useful? Would paying a large body of Catholic Priests in Protestant England make them useful? Would giving the Pope an estate in Middlesex make him useful? We do call upon men who set about juggling a nation to bring some skill to the trick, some dexterity, to show that they don't utterly despise the understandings of the people they design to dupe. Sir Robert Peel, when he observes their bungling, must think, with Jonathan Wild, that " he knows of a better way."

Mr Stanley has, we see, given up the sad case of Doctor Butler, compelled to sell his carriage horses! and has picked up other examples of clerical distress (which was necessary, inasmuch as

Dr Butler turns out to be a prosperous gentleman*); his tales of woe calling for legislative interference are now more discreetly chosen. We will take one of the strongest.

"A gentleman with whom I am well acquainted, "told me that he had just been sending a sheep "and a few potatoes, and a small note, to a gentle- "man who was formerly in comparative affluence, "and that he had neither a shilling nor a pound of "meat or bread in his house."

Very shocking, certainly—very shocking that sinecurists should come to this! that people who do nothing should have nothing for their living. What, if the folks on the Pension List should fall into the same misfortune! But we would undertake to produce a hundred such cases in a day, not of distressed sinecurists, indeed, but of distressed industry; and there shall be only this difference, that no gentleman shall have sent a sheep and a few potatoes, and a small note, to the labourer thrown out of work by the tactics of the Charles street Conspirators. "Are we," asks Mr Stanley, "to say that for peaceful men there shall be no "remedy, and that for the turbulent there shall "be instant protection?" Let him put that ques-

* Dr Butler, it is said, sold his old spavined horses, and worn-out coach, previously to his quitting Ireland for Cheltenham, where he has since resided in great comfort, with the additional luxury of a new carriage and horses. Dr Butler is a wealthy man, the result of savings during the last twenty-five years in a rich benefice.—*Morning Chronicle.*

tion here, where the peaceful sufferers by faction are yet without remedy, and where the worst conspirators—the conspirators against a nation's rights —have all protection, and all countenance, and courtesy, and respect, not to say reverence, from the Ministerial champions. The dues sought here are no pitiful tithes, they are the rights essential to the security of all property, and how are they vindicated? Vindicated, forsooth! they are whined and crawled for as a beggar's boon.

It is written in the experience of mankind, that so long as the oppressed will suffer, they shall suffer. Wrongs never cease until they are resolutely resisted. Repeatedly has the grievance of Irish Tithes been brought under the consideration of Parliament; but a deaf ear was turned to all complaint, till the people took the affair into their own hands, and now redress waits upon successful resistance. So in the case of all public abuses it has ever been and ever will be. The justice of Government is necessity. It administers justice as the *Médecin malgré lui* administered physic, when beaten into it. We almost suspect that Reform is crude for want of this process; and that it lacks the ripening of a refusal to pay taxes, which will come hot upon another postponement. Molière perfectly illustrates the ways of justice in the following scene:—

"2. *Porteur.* Payez-nous donc, s'il vous plaît, Monsieur.

" *Mascarille.* Hé?

" 2. *Porteur.* Je dis, Monsieur, que vous nous " donniez de l'argent, s'il vous plaît.

" *Mascarille* (lui donnant un soufflet). Com- " ment, coquin, demander de l'argent à une per- " sonne de ma qualité?

" 2. *Porteur.* Est-ce ainsi qu'on paye les pauvres " gens, et votre qualité nous donne-t-elle à dîner?

" *Mascarille.* Ah, ah, je vous apprendrai à vous " connoître. Ces canailles là s'osent jouër à moi.

" 1. *Porteur* (prenant un des bâtons de sa chaise). " Ca, payez-nous vîtement.

" *Mascarille.* Quoi?

" 1. *Porteur.* Je dis que je veux avoir de " l'argent tout-à-l'heure.

" *Mascarille. Il est raisonnable, celui-là.*

" 1. *Porteur.* Vîte donc.

" *Mascarille.* Oui-dà, *tu parles comme il faut,* " toi; mais l'autre est un coquin, qui ne sçait ce " qu'il dit: Tîen, es-tu content?

" 1. *Porteur.* Non, je ne suis pas content, vous " avez donné un soufflet à mon camarade, et . . . . " [*levant son bâton*].

" *Mascarille.* Doucement, tien, voilà pour le " soufflet. *On obtient tout* de moi *quand on s'y* " *prend de la bonne façon.* Allez, venez me " reprendre tantôt pour aller au Louvre au petit " coucher."

THE GENERAL HYPOCRISY.

" 'Tis too much proved, that with devotion's visage,
And pious action, we do sugar o'er
The Devil himself."—SHAKSPEARE.

THAT precious pot of ointment, that godly gentleman, Mr Perceval, has at last had his pious will of us, and obtained from Ministers a promise of a General Fast, or rather of the order for one,—for as it is true that any man may take a horse to the water, but no one can make him drink,—so also it is certain that any rulers may direct a general fast, but no power can prevent men who have the means from ministering to the carnal cravings of their stomachs. The only effect will be to put the nation for one day through a grand ceremony of hypocrisy. In addition to the customary dinner, people will eat salt fish with egg sauce, which is a very good thing now and then for the palate, but decidedly dyspeptic, and apt for cholera, and should by no means be eaten where the disease exists.

How is the world changed! Time was, when contrition showed itself in beating the breast,

tearing the hair, rending the garments, and screaming with energy. Now, the most pious man of the age proposes to settle the nation's long score of sins with one day of salt fish and egg sauce! What penitence! See twenty millions of sinners expiating their sins with fine large flakes of Newfoundland cod, smothered in an egg sauce, rich with cream, and stimulant with mustard, every glutton, as he gobbles it down, only remarking what a fine vehicle egg sauce is for mustard,—and certainly it is so. If we ever write a tragedy it shall be called 'Contrition;' and the hero, after a tissue of enormities, shall, by way of catastrophe, in the fifth act, order salt fish and egg sauce in addition to his customary meal.

A contemporary truly remarks that good Mr Perceval has superseded the Bishops, nay, the Archbishops, who have not said a word about the necessity for this General Fast, perhaps because those worldly divines well know that it will only prove a General *Break*fast. Mr Percival indeed explains, that he is the Member for Heaven; but we think we see signs of his differing with his constituency. For instance, he rather ungraciously flings in the teeth of the country the shameful prodigality of bounty shown to him and his.

"I was *taken up*," said the Hon. Member, "on "the death of my father, by the nation, which "abundantly provided for me and mine; and it is "in gratitude for that kindness that I call on the

" house to address the Crown to issue a proclama-
" tion for a fast."

Were he " taken up " by a mad doctor, it would be more becoming his peculiar claims to care. It is the " taking up " of him, and such as he, which constitutes the crying sin of the nation,—its endurance of abuse to absolute baseness. That is the true national humiliation. And this pot of godliness coolly talks of the abundant provision made for him. Why does he not look to be fed according to Scripture, as the young ravens? What does he do with that kitchen? What mean those fat partridges at the fire? What is the purpose of that vast cook? is that simmering and bubbling from stew-pans, flesh-pots of abomination, devices of carnal cookery? And lo! there we spy a haunch of mutton hanging up to be dressed ten days hence, when tender,—perhaps on the general fast day, after the fish and the eggs, and the mustard! What providence is this, what thought of the morrow, and not the morrow of all souls,—aye, and of ten days after the morrow! Is this in any degree like the manners and customs of young ravens? Who ever saw a raven, young or old, with a cook and a kitchen range, and a larder, and a carnal joint hanging upon a devil's hook? Does Mr Perceval (we will not call him *good* after such doings) suppose that the devil has never been in his kitchen?—aye, has he, and perhaps kissed his cook too, and looked with a leer

into his stew-pans, and thought what a sop in the pan he would make of his miserable little soul, tricked out with all its earthly gauds and hypocrisies. Where is his treasure laid up?—at Ransom's;—aye, that will be no ransom for him from the pickle of Dives. Again: What sort of tabernacle is that he tarries in? Is it in the least like a raven's nest? No, no; his nest has been very differently feathered, and it is lined most abundantly, as he truly says, with the golden fleece, from this most patient and most pillaged people of all on the face of the earth. He is like to the raven in nothing but blackness, and the dismalness of his croak.

He says the Bible makes no mention of the power of the people. Does it make any mention of rotton boroughs? — Does it make any mention of pharisees, who pray and boast their piety aloud, and rate the publicans?—Does it make any mention of pensions, of abundant provisions, of Dives and Lazarus, of the soul-destroying effects of riches?—Does it make any mention of bribery and corruption, self-seeking, lying, slandering, evil-speaking, and taking the Lord's name in vain?—Does it ever say out upon ye, ye hypocrites? But for this worm's scripture lore—we have a right to call him worm, for it is scriptural, man is worm, and Perceval is the worm that eats the substance of the people—the worm that never dies in the public pocket, but which should feed the young raven; for this worm's scripture lore—

what says the book of Samuel? When the people asked for a king, unreasonable, infatuated, wilful, and wild as the wish was in the sight of God, he answered, "Hearken unto the voice of the people "in all that they say unto thee, for they have not "rejected thee, but they have rejected me."

"Now, therefore, hearken unto their voice: "howbeit, yet protest solemnly unto them, and "show them the manner of the king that shall "reign over them.

"And Samuel told all the words of the Lord "unto the people that asked of him a king.

"And he said, this will be the manner of the "king that shall reign over you: He will take "your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his "chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall "run before his chariots.

"And he will appoint him captains over thou- "sands, and captains over fifties; and will set "them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, "and to make his instruments of war, and instru- "ments of his chariots.

"And he will take your daughters to be con- "fectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers.

"And he will take your fields, and your vine- "yards, and your olive-yards, even the best of "them, and give them to his servants.

"And he will take the tenth of your seed, and "of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to "his servants.

"And he will take your men-servants, and your "maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, "and your asses, and put them to his work.

"He will take the tenth of your sheep; and ye "shall be his servants.

"And ye shall cry out in that day because of "your king which he shall have chosen you; and "the Lord will not hear you in that day.

"Nevertheless the people refused to obey the "voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we "will have a king over us."

The people had their wish, because it was their wish, though a bad one; but the King here described is a dove, compared with the cormorants that have glutted on this enduring nation, and filled it with corruption. Our Boroughmongers are the true harpies, the obscene creatures, that not only seize upon the food, but befoul all that they cannot snatch with the scourings of their loathsome natures, rapacity and corruption conjoined, robbing, ravening, rioting, and tainting.

"Diripiuntque dapes, contactuque omnia fœdunt."

It is curious, that in a squib called the "Unreported Meeting," in the *New Monthly Magazine* of April last, Mr Perceval's argument, as to the absence of any mention of responsibility to the people, in scripture, is anticipated in the speech attributed to him:—

necessary to an unfortunate transaction—nay, who seems to think that a transaction has transactors, as an action without the help of the *trans* has certainly its actor. There are, we admit, some "unfortunate transactions" in which parties are accountable, and may not only be personally blamed, but personally indicted, and most personally hung by the neck till dead; but these are cases in which a mob are on the active side of the transaction, as at Bristol, and not on the passive, as at Manchester. Put the magistrates on the assailing side, and the blame has no personal attachment. And thus we often see that in law and morals, as in algebraic equations, to change the sides of the characters, alters their effect from positive to negative, and the opposite. When Mob is against Magistrate, Magistrate is *plus* Justice; but, when Magistrate is against Mob, Mob is *minus* Justice.

Mr Hulton, it soon appears, had his cogent reasons for not understanding the impersonal blame of the Manchester transaction. Thought he, I have been praised for my part in the transaction, and so I must have had a part, or how can I have the praise? He had had the praise of the finest gentleman of the age, the graceful George, for authorising the sabreing of the people; and now to be told that the character of an affair of such gore and glory can be adverted to, without concerning in any way the conduct of the magis-

trates, who cried havoc, and slipped the dogs of yeomanry, is to take the red feather out of his plume. He is evidently touched at his part having been overlooked.

" I should have imagined, that to one who took " the active interest which your Lordship did in " the affairs of 1819, my name might have been as " familiar as that of Deacle. Humble individual " as I am, honour, the firmest basis of private life, " forbids that I should tamely submit to have the " epithet 'revolting' applied to any transaction in " which I had participated."

Mr Hulton has his own taste for fame, but with that we have nothing to do,—there may be a taste for fame, like that for game, most relished by the epicures when it stinks. Those fames however, which are so very *high*, will not *keep;* and it scarcely surprises us, that so pure a person as Lord Althorp really is, should have had his recollections purified from the odour of the Manchester Magistrate.

The answer of Mr Hulton, of Hulton, to the bland espistle of Lord Althorp, is altogether an effective piece of impertinence, and we earnestly hope it may cure Lord Althorp of his propensity to gallant with the Tories—we trust it will be a warning to the whole Cabinet indeed: it is what *Mrs Abigail* styles "a complete set-down," or " dressing."

" Your lordship will neither deny nor admit the

"fail. It was of three estates, Kings, Lords, and "Commons, and though three, it was one. This "perfection was argued to be a fault by the Re- "formers, who absurdly objected that one power "ruled in all these forms. Because they cannot "understand this merit, is its being to be denied?'" "But with infidels in religion, or in politics, he "would hold no argument. The honourable gen- "tleman concluded with a Resolution,—'That a "prayer should be composed for the preservation "of Boroughs, and that frequent fasting was a dis- "cipline of the body and soul, essential to the good "conduct of the people.'"

It would seem clear from this, either that the writer in the *New Monthly Magazine* has strangely anticipated, or that Mr Perceval has most unscrupulously stolen. But, in either case, it is certain that there is a sort of character which the broadest ridicule cannot misrepresent, nay, he adopts it and makes it conduct.

PARLIAMENT AND THE PRESS.

THERE has been some gasconade about the violation of the standing order of the Commons' House against the publication of debates. Nothing can

be more absurd than the high and mighty tone assumed on this subject. If the House were to enforce its boasted privilege, it would clap an extinguisher on its own importance. To the publicity of the debates, Parliament owes whatever degree of respect remains to it. As a debating society it is not without skill and interest, but in the business of legislation it is utterly contemptible. Now, the talk serves to divert criticism from the doings; but were the House known only by its acts, what would be the opinion of its legislative qualifications?—Scarcely a statute ever comes into operation without discovering some enormous blunder, defeating the intention, and signalising the stupidity or carelessness, of our legislators. A jest book, exceeding in absurdity the *Facetiæ* of Hierocles, might be composed of the blunders of our law-makers. The instance is familiar to every one of the whipping, half of which was awarded to the informer, the other moiety to the King. In an Act for building a new jail, it was directed that the new jail should be built with the materials of the old one, as far as they would go, and specially ordered that the prisoners should continue confined in the old jail till the new one should be finished. The Marriage Act, directing that the houses of the parties should be nailed on the church door, and with its other provisions rendering lawful wedlock impossible while it remained in force, is yet fresh in the public recollection. But we need not refer to instances,

for every Act that comes into operation is example of the blundering of our legislature. And, what would be thought of the wits of the assemblies which had sent forth such laws, supposing that the people had no other means of judging of them than by these notable evidences? We repeat that, if people saw the Acts of Parliament without the deliberations, they would conclude that the only difference between the great house with iron bars in St George's Fields, and the other great house in Westminster, is,—that the first holds crazy folks in chains, and the second in power—that the one restrains, and the other originates, acts of insanity.

The press could at any time leave Parliament, as now constiuted, to overwhelming odium, by withdrawing the reports which have served to amuse the public mind, and to shew that the men who commit such stupendous absurdities are nevertheless not void of reason. Further, let it be considered what would be the effect on the temper of the nation, if oppressive or tyrannical acts were silenty and by surprise carried into operation? Silence is an attribute of sternness, and our law needs no such addition to its severe character. Let us suppose the public surprised, one day, by such statutes as the Six Acts, or the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, or by the rejection of the Reform Bill—this without any note of preparation—without any previous evaporation of anger upon the

pretences and excuses put forth in defence of such measures—how prodigious would be the shock, how sudden and violent the recoil!

Curiously enough, after a debate on breach of privilege, the executions at Nottingham were brought under consideration. Upon the trial of the sufferers, it will be remembered that the Attorney-General declared it of the last importance that the violated law should be known, which the State had never been at the trouble of promulgating, and by which the prisoners were liable to the punishment of death. Now, whatever is known of penal legislation, is made known only by the newspaper reports of the proceedings in Parliament, and of trials in our criminal courts. The first is the only channel of information which can convey warning before an example is made, and it lies under the ban of the House, as a breach of privilege; the second sets the rule and the example before the public eye, and the judges have struggled hard to choke it. The existing knowledge of enactments is extremely imperfect; but what would be the state of society, if touchy members or judges could prevail, and the only faint organ of promulgation were silent or silenced? Imagine criminal laws passing secretly through the Houses, printed on bulky papers, which have no general circulation, in a language only intelligible to the skilled, and scarcely understood by them, and then conveyed to that volume of mysteries—the Statute

Book. The law might as well, for all public purposes, and juridical policy, be whispered a hundred fathom beneath the surface of the earth. And this enactment of rules affecting life, without caring to warn, though the law holds that ignorance of its unpromulgated mandates is no excuse for offence against them,—this stupid and barbarous neglect has place in a country which boasts its reverence for the Bible, and reads in it this terrible admonition,—

"When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt "surely die, and thou givest him not warning, nor "speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way "to save his life, the same wicked man shall die in "his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy "hand."—*Ezekiel.*

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S OBJECTIONS TO THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS.

The Duke of Buckingham, whose resemblance to *Falstaff* does not hold in the single particular of his wit, indulges in these ungainly gambols on the metropolitan clause of the Reform Bill.

"If this measure was carried, they would have to "look for purity of election to the sweeps of Saffron-

"hill; for honesty of deportment, to the shades "of Tower-hill; for elegance of expression, "to the classical language of Billingsgate; and "for statesman-like subtlety to the ingeni- "ousness of Mary-la-bonne. Why, this 10*l.* "clause was so low, that *it would give every* "*beggar a vote* in London; their Lordships had "heard of 'Westminster's Pride and England's "Glory;' let pride and glory *take care how he* "*gave a beggar a penny as he walked the streets,* "*or it was possible that he might be bribing an* "*elector*—the majority of the voters would be "found where the cholera was most prevalent; "and the candidate, in having to collect their "'most sweet voices,' would have to proceed in "the march of plague and pestilence."

And this Duke would set up for a Statesman, for one whose business it is to know the conditions of the different orders of society! Why, since the Princess expressed her surprise that the people in a famine did not eat buns, there has been no such notable specimen of ignorance as this insulting supposition that the 10*l.* voters of London would be paupers and beggars. We never yet knew a man disposed to scorn the humble who was not himself a fair object of scorn to the humblest. A man of a liberal mind has a reverence for the little pride that seasons every condition, and would deem it sacrilege to affront, or abate the respect which is maintained with none of the

adventitious aids, and solely by the observance of the honesties. The Duke's coronet and rent-roll keep him in self-satisfaction; but there are thousands who have to maintain their good repute among their fellows by the sweat of the brow and the toil of the hands—who struggle against the degradations of pauperism as the swimmer struggles against sinking; and it is the act of a brutal and a vulgar nature, to fling contempt on those who are labouring hard not to merit it, and to keep their heads above the disgraces of beggary. Of what is humility supposed to be made—is it reputed adamant, or of a spirit which defies the proud man's contumely? Libel the great, fenced in with their flatterers and their friends, and the licentiousness is reprobated; but to slander modest industry, falsely to strip its condition of the meagre hardly obtained respect belonging to it, is sport for my Lord Duke of Buckingham and the House of Peers. The Duke says, we shall have to look to the sweeps of Saffron-hill for purity of election; but from the sweeps themselves his Grace of Buckingham might learn more than one lesson. Their art of climbing is more upright than his, and might correct his more tortuous ambition; their ways are less narrow and dirty; and who would refuse to back their brushes against his Bill for the purification of foul vents? He talks like *Mistress Honour* of the elegance of expression of Billingsgate, as if the Constitution of Parliament involved

any such dainty consideration as elegance of expression; but in Billingsgate itself sneers of a coarser quality could not be heard than those which this nobleman has vented upon the respectable middle classes of this great city. To be sure, the people of Billingsgate have the reputation of clothing their ideas in a language apter to their quality, and therein they bear away the palm of propriety and of eloquence from the Duke.

BRUTALITIES OF THE HIGH AND LOW COMPARED.

"Plate Sin with gold,
And the strong lance of Justice, hurtless, breaks;
Clothe it in rags, a pigmy's rush doth pierce it."

The Duke of Wellington made a parade of his person in the City on the 18th of June, in the hope that the anniversary of Waterloo would procure for him some signs of favour, which might be represented as proofs of general popularity. In this experiment he has suffered the common fate of vastly cunning persons, and pitiably miscarried of

his object. It is thus that the "little Isaac" race of politicians, "roguish but devilish keen," are ever plotting themselves into difficulties and disasters. Most unfortunate it is that men of this sort, beset with flatterers and parasites, and besotted with self-conceit, will never believe themselves in bad obour with the multitude till dead dogs and cats bring conviction to their noses. They go home wiser and dirtier men; but their assailants are depraved by the indulgence of their savage passions. This last is a very evil consequence; and we put it to the magistracy, whether the Duke of Wellington should not be brought under the libel law, and held to bail for publishing his person with a tendency to provoke a breach of the peace? With what propriety can a man show himself about the streets who ostentatiously exhibits bullet-proof iron blinds to the windows of his house, signifying the necessity for constant preparation against assault or assassination in the best guarded and most peaceable quarter of the metropolis? A man who uses iron blinds at home, and puts his mansion in a state of siege, should not make a sortie into the streets without a mask. Notwithstanding the imprudence of the Duke, every one regretted that he was dirtied, and condemned the outrage. The rabble ought to set a better example to the Aristocracy. Our state would be hopeless indeed were the brutality of the Many to equal the brutality of the Few. Why do we hold up to view the piti-

less sentiment, the truculent threats, the wanton outrages, the thoughtless cruelty of members of the Aristocracy? Not surely for imitation, but that power may be wrested from those so ill qualified for the exercise of it. When the Duke of Wellington told Mr Potter that if the people were not quiet, "there was a way of making them so," he did not think of putting dead cats and dead dogs into the hands of the soldiers, and ordering them, together with discharges of dirt, to be hurled at the discontented, amidst yells and hisses; but he doubtless had in contemplation charges with sharp bayonets, and the murderous volleys of round lumps of lead, which are the favourite State sedatives and anodynes in all cases of irritability. The rabble did not push and discharge at the Duke things so hurtful as the Duke would push and discharge at the rabble if he saw occasion; yet were they guilty of a great brutality in committing the violence which they did. The people cannot retaliate upon their enemies without utterly brutalizing themselves.

Once upon a time a dog flew at a serjeant, who thrust his halberd through the animal's body. A woman exclaimed, "Oh, you cruel wretch! why "did you not beat the poor brute off with the butt "end of your halberd?" "So I would," answered the savage, "if he had run at me with his tail." Retaliation is a vile principle, and one to be renounced by the people altogether. Indeed, they

never do retaliate strictly, for the severity of the means for their coercion, always exceeds the measure returned; and when they have run with their tails at their serjeants, they have been met with the tooth instead of the blunt end of the halberd. In the *Standard's* account of this very outrage on the Duke, we find this instance.

"A rascally butcher having the impudence to "hoot at and hiss him, received such a right and "left facer, from a spirited young barrister, as "made him measure his length on the pavement."

Hissing and hooting are not the only expressions of contempt. The populace are reviled, vilified, insulted, calumniated in the House of Lords or Commons, and occasionally they resent the affront too much in the brutal way of this "spirited young barrister," not indeed by knocking down the offender, but by pelting with dead dogs and cats and dirt. All this is very wrong, and decidedly to be condemned; but who set the example? Have the outrages of the people ever, in our time, equalled the outrages committed against them? Have they ever perpetrated a Manchester massacre? And was the treatment of the Duke of Wellington, in the hands of a rabble on the 18th, harsher than the treatment of the soldier Sommerville, at Birmingham, in the hands of his officer? The Duke did not get 200 lashes. The cat which visited his offences against opinion, was of a more harmless sort than that which flayed Sommerville.

The mob did not say, "My lad, you are now where you will repent of your conduct." Observe how much more savage and unmeasured is the revenge of displeased authority than that of a riotous populace. Yet Mr Hume's statement of this case, so honourable to one and so infamous to others, was heard in the House of Commons without one expression of abhorrence, or appearing to excite enough interest to induce an inquiry into the facts. Contrast this apathy with the indignation at the dirtying and hooting of the Duke of Wellington, —yet what is fouling a man's clothes to flaying his back! Our surprise is not at any occasional outbreaking of a brutal spirit on the part of the populace; but we are amazed that they are not more brutalized by the provoking examples constantly before them. Canning's jocose description of ruptured bowels was received with roars of laughter in that House, where the case of Sommerville was heard with the silence of indifference. In the Lords', but a few months ago, a Nobleman, notorious for his profession of religious zeal, declared his eagerness to put to death, with his own hand, an anonymous writer, who had uttered certain offensive remarks on the Queen. Did one word of rebuke follow? Had the Bishops a syllable to say in condemnation of the thirst for blood? No.

Let us suppose a thousand Winchilseas in a mob, with this rabid appetite for vengeance, and imagine the crimes to which their brutal passions

would impel them. In the debate in the Commons' House, on the address to the King, expressive of horror and indignation at the assault on his person, Sir Robert Peel observed, that

"If members of that house were to hold such "doctrines as that, even in any case, the resort to "physical force was justifiable and excusable, he "feared that *the very worst effects must be thereby* "*produced upon the ignorant classes.* The natural "conclusion for such persons to draw from such "doctrines was, that *they would be justified in* "*avenging their fancied wrong by physical force.* "He hoped, therefore, they would all see the "necessity in being guarded in the expressions "they used, and the doctrines they set forth."

Then what must have been the effect of such an ebullition of ferocity as we have referred to in the instance of the pious Lord Winchilsea? Special cases prove little as to the feelings of a numerous body, whether aristocratic or plebeian—they may be exceptions—but the treatment of the special cases, by members of the class, proves much.

The laughter of the Commons at Canning's jocose description of an operation for rupture; the silence of the Lords on the Earl of Winchilsea's threat of mortal violence; and, to pass to yet graver matter, the denial of justice in the case of the Manchester Massacre, called by Lord Althorp by the soft name of the "*Manchester transactions*;" these, and more of the same sort than we have

temper or leisure to instance, show not only what members or tools of the Aristocracy are capable of doing, but also the light in which such actions are viewed by the class. The remark is as old as Cicero at least, that there is no difference between advising a crime, and approving it when committed. They who approve an action would willingly do it if the opportunity offered; that is, if some reason of self-love did not hinder them—"*quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem?*"

The lenient measures of justice dealt out to members or minions of the aristocracy, who, indulging their appetites for cruelty or vengeance, have offended against the laws, cannot escape the observation of the people, and must lead to the inference, that acts of wanton mischief or resentment are sanctioned by the higher orders. A nobleman in Scotland who shot at a man was lately sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Had he thrown a flint at him instead of a charge of lead, his punishment would have been yet slighter. But lead, not flint, is the aristocratic missile. A poor man who had flung the flint would have had at least the punishment for the nobleman's shot; had he discharged the lead, he would have been imprisoned for two years or transported. Two sons of Conservative Peers amused themselves some short time ago by shooting from their carriage-windows with an air-gun: the sport of these slips of the conservatory consisted in the destruction

of property, and the pain and terror to the unlucky passengers or inhabitants. They were fined ten pounds each, and dismissed! Suppose a wantonness of the same maleficent sort, a delight in injuring without provocation, in the lower classes, and imagine the horror and reprobation it would occasion, and the severity with which it would be punished. A soldier, a few days back, brutally beat a man who spoke disrespectfully of the Duke of Wellington. The ruffian was convicted and fined; but a nobleman came forward and paid the penalty: thus delivering the fellow from the intended punishment, and adding another instance to the lesson, that the use of brute force in resentment for displeasing opinions is sanctioned by the aristocracy. The impunity of the offender was procured under a new law, which allows the Magistrate to impose fines for assaults instead of leaving them to the cognizance of a Jury; the convenience of which is, that if a Lord John, or a Lord John's minion, commit an assault, he is fined forty shillings, or some such matter, which in the latter case is paid by his patron, and is no punishment whatever; but if Thomson or Dobson commit an assault on a Lord, he may be held to bail to the Sessions.

Again we declare our amazement, that, seeing these examples, the lower orders are not more brutalised. They observe the higher classes, who have the moral force, and the command (we may

say) of the laws, constantly having recourse, and inviting recourse, to the physical force for the gratification of their resentments, and holding the shield over members of their body who employ it with the worst effect. The physical force is the only force of the poor; yet we do not see that they exercise it more wantonly, or on slighter provocations, and with more malignant effect, than their superiors in power.

We sincerely grieve to hear of the brutal assault on the King by Dennis Collins. Members of Parliament cannot find terms to express their abhorrence of this outrage, and declare it of such unique malignity, that they question whether there is another man in our twenty millions capable of the same deed. Why, take away Lord Winchilsea's title and fortune, his leg, and his bread, and let him feel, at the neglect of an appeal for redress, the thirst for deadly vengeance, which, in the presence of the Bishops, he avowed himself to entertain towards an anonymous slanderer of a high and mighty personage; and might we not suppose his fierce passions, in that helpless state, capable of transporting him to a similar excess? We have made an instance of this nobleman, not because we think more harshly of him than of those who let his expression of sanguinary desires pass without rebuke, but, as the vindictive sentiment, and proneness to violence, in one otherwise of an estimable disposition, exemplifies the hold of the very

vice on the best of the higher orders, which is so execrated in the worst of the lowest classes.

There is not, perhaps, after all, a deficiency of humanity in the Aristocracy; but it is latent through a deficiency of reflection; and consequently opinion is not put with the just force upon actions, the quality of which has escaped consideration.

We hear many edifying things said about exciting the passions of the poor, and directing their resentments against the alleged causes of their sufferings; but how much more base, and how much more dangerous is it to vilify the populace, and sharpen the sword against them, and clamour for execution. It cannot be doubted that it is more perilous to instigate the strong than to instigate the weak to violence; and the poor are the weak, the ruling power the strong. Which is more likely to suffer by malignant misrepresentation of their purposes, the unarmed, unorganised mob, with the sword ever ready to fall suspended over their heads, or the great, surrounded by all the powers of wealth and of the state? Had *Æsop* lived in our time, he would have made his wolf complain that the sheep were excited against him, and insist that his tooth must avenge the defamation.

What eternal tirades have we heard against Lord Milton's constitutional resolution to resist taxation for which the representative authority was wanting; but no word of reprobation has been applied to the Duke of Newcastle's call upon the anti-

reformers to take up arms against the people. Sir Robert Peel saw nothing amiss in this appeal to force; and we laughed at brayings which were not exactly the brayings of the trumpet. It is the secret consciousness that the people have wrongs which makes instigation to violence dreaded. Which of us has feared the Newcastle rebellion, or called for the law to be put upon the brayer of sedition; and which of the faction did not tremble at the resolutions of the Birmingham and other Unions, because they were bottomed on justice? It is the wrong that renders the forcible seizure of redress probable; and where wrongs do not exist, attempts at excitement are treated with the contempt of which his Grace of Newcastle has had the benefit.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT ON COLLINS' ASSAULT ON THE KING.

"What is he, whose grief
Bears such an emphasis? whose phrase of sorrow
Conjures the wand'ring stars, and makes them stand
Like wonder-wounded hearers?"

SOME consolation is to be extracted from most misfortunes; and there is comfort in finding that the greatest enormities of which human nature is capable have been perpetrated without producing the slightest mischief, and as if ordained only to give Sir F. Burdett occasion to air his vocabulary of virtuous vituperation of the wicked and praise of the great. Let it be written, that in 1832 atrocity reached its utmost height. Dennis Collins, a discharged pensioner, threw a stone at the King; the rabble of Holborn hissed, hooted, and pelted the Duke of Wellington; *Tom Thumb* was played at the Coburg; the Queen was libelled;—yet, after all, the King, the Queen, and the Duke, are safe and sound—a remarkable proof of the decline of the power of mischief in its utmost virulence.

Collins (whom posterity will confound with the author of the "Ode on the Passions") should be a

warning to all punctilious people. He threw a stone at the King because his Majesty had not answered his letter, and not, as Tories say, because Mr Hume had referred to the physical force. See what comes of too strict notions of politeness—the fanaticism of good breeding!

Sir Francis Burdett consolingly remarks, that any country might have given birth to Collins; but should it have produced the stone? Pride, on the other hand, is to be extracted from the stoutness of the King's hat, which so nobly resisted the traitorous blow. No other country could have produced such a hat. It was a truly British beaver, and consoles us for a Collins. It is excellent, that when nature produces such a monster, the hatter produces a hat of a virtue to render harmless his wickedness. The dignity of the Crown was never more worthily defended.

Sir Francis Burdett said many fine things in praise of the Duke of Wellington, whose name our grandchildren are to hear with an overflowing feeling of gratitude—doubtless as the man who knew of a way to make their grandfathers quiet, which way their said grandfathers would not permit him to try on their dear bodies. We have not the least objection to any feeling of our grandchildren —nay, they may have the Duke for a Minister, and Sir F. Burdett for a Member for Westminster, without disturbing our rest, where the tax-gatherer ceases from calling.

A Contemporary asks,

"What does the 'idol of the people' mean "when he describes his Grace's assailants by talk- "ing of 'an abominable display of the vulgar ma- "lignity *proper to their base natures!*' This is "not the language that Sir Francis was once in "the habit of applying to that 'class of the com- "munity;' they were not 'base natures' formerly, "but simply misguided and uneducated. Sir "Francis was nearer the truth then than he is now "—but now they do not draw his carriage so fre- "quently. They are 'vulgar' and 'brutal' when "they pelt; not so when they take out the horses "of the popular hero, and drag him in triumph "through the metropolis. They are precisely the "same class of people—but their natures are not "baser in one act than another. We confess that, "of the two, the act of drawing a carriage ap- "pears to us the more debasing. The simple "truth is, they entertain strong political feelings, "and express them as they would not do if they "were better taught."

If the ruffians who threw dead dogs and dead cats at the Duke were in the station of Sir F. Burdett, they would throw upon the objects of their dislike precisely the extravagantly abusive terms which Sir F. Burdett heaps upon them; and if Sir F. Burdett were, on the other hand, as one of them, he would fling dirt instead of foul epithets.

It is pleasant to see a statesman rebuking ex-

cesses in the most passionate terms, and with the most exaggerated representations.

" Something too much of this" was the reflection of the whole town, on a hysterical exhibition in the Commons, on the subject of Collins' outrage.

CHURCH REFORM, AS IT IS, AND AS IT SHOULD BE.

It requires a very fine eye to distinguish a Churchman's reform of a Church abuse from the abuse itself. Indeed, the word reform is here to be understood in its strictest sense, for the abuse remains in substance the same, and is only altered in shape, or re-formed. The Pluralities Bill is an exquisite example in point. This is the upshot of clerical renouncement:—

> " The miser thus a shilling sees,
> Which he's obliged to pay,
> With sighs resigns it by degrees,
> And thinks 'tis gone for aye."

Mammon pares a nail, and offers it up with great pomp to the Temple of Justice.

It is easy to prove that the Clergy must be the most greedy men on the face of the earth, as they not only cling to their possessions in defiance of

the public disgust, but in contempt of the gospel which they profess to teach. Vast indeed must be their covetousness, or how could it overcome their reverence for the precepts of their Master? Just in proportion as we give them credit for faith, we must impute avarice to them beyond the control of modesty, or religion; for how else can it be, that believing in the divine warnings against riches, they can yet consent to be rich? What would be thought of the Mahomedan Priest who should be seen staggering about, heavy with wine? One of two things: either that he was no believer in the word of the Prophet, or else that his love of the grape exceeded his fear of Tartarus, and reverence for the ordinances of his Deity. Supposing our Clergy to be believers, we must suppose them ravenous of lucre past all power of restraining their desires; for do we not see that the rewards of the Church are the riches pronounced by divine authority the bane of souls? Yet Lord Grey asserts that Church Reform should proceed from the Church, and from the head of the Church, possessed as it is of the devil of Mammon. This is as if it were propounded that the reform of tippling should proceed from the gin-drinkers. It is forgotten that the Priests, whose pouches are stuffed with gold, have, according to scripture truths, necessarily had their souls corrupted, so as to incapacitate for a righteous purification. Church reform ought to proceed from the poor curates,

who are yet in the gracious state of poverty; and Church property, according to the principles of religion, should be settled on a plan the very opposite to the existing system; that is to say, every step in the Priest's promotion should take from him some of that wealth which places souls in jeopardy, and an Archbishop should tower and taper up to fifty pounds a year. This scheme would be in accordance with the maxims of Christianity, and show a sincere belief in the soul-destroying tendency of wealth which the Scripture teaches. The young Priests should be at the base of the pyramid of promotion, and receive the largest salaries; and, as they prove their worth, they should be invited to renounce some of the filthy lucre, and take a higher step with a narrower income; and thus they should rise, abandoning the goods of this earth, as they advance in the holy self-denying profession. In this case, it would be prudent to withdraw the *Nolo Episcopari*. As for translations, they should be from poor Bishoprics to poorer. To give the opportunity for this sign of grace, some of the Bishoprics should be as high as a hundred pounds a year; but the Archbishoprics should by no means exceed fifty pounds. Pluralities of employment might be allowed, after the exalted example of the Apostles. A Bishop might turn his hand to any reputable employment. He should not be a jockey, or a coachman, or a huntsman, or a toad-eater;—but we need not ap-

prehend unbecoming pursuits; for he would not be a Bishop if his desires were for any of those things which are the motives to baseness.

When the beasts of prey were considering a reformation, and proposing self-denying regulations—

> "Since saving measures were profest,
> A lamb's head was the wolf's request;
> The fox submitted, if to touch
> A gosling would be deemed too much."

The Archbishop of Canterbury and his holy brethren set about the ordering of pluralities with a similar moderation. "A noble Lord," remarked the Primate, "proposed to abolish the practice of "Bishops holding livings *in commendam;* but the "income of some of the Bishops was so low, that "they could not adequately support their dignity "without an addition." It never occurred to his Grace, that if the income of some of the Bishops was too low for the dignity of the preachers of poverty, the incomes of some other of the Bishops were too large for the gates of Heaven, and that the mean between the two extremes could be adjusted by the surrender of the superabundant soul-destroying wealth of the richer Sees to the endowment of the poorer. But we shall soon see this modest Prelate's notion of moderation. Again, quoting the Noble Lord, he said that it had been proposed to limit the income of Bishops to 4,500*l.* a-year, and that the surplus should be paid over to

Queen Anne's Fund. Think, Christian reader, of the state of the Apostles, and then of Bishops' incomes *confined* to 4,500 a-year, and imagine the glee of Lucifer at the Archbishop's comment upon the proposal.

"The limit (he asserted) was certainly too "narrow; and, on the whole, the noble Lord's "amendments were prepared without consideration "of the circumstances of the case, and the checks "which they would oppose to the entrance of "competent persons into the Church."

How well this fulfils the scriptural law, that a Bishop shall not be covetous! What says Timothy?—"Having food and raiment, let us "be therewith content. They that will be rich "fall into a temptation and a snare, and into many "foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in "destruction and perdition. For the love of money "is the root of all evil. *But thou, O man of God,* "*flee these things;* and follow after righteousness, "godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness."

As for the apprehension that *competent* persons would not enter the Church if its rewards were limited to 4,500*l.* a-year, we should like to know what the Archbishop of Canterbury would have thought of the Apostles, had he lived in their day. How he would have turned up his nose at persons of such conditions, and despaired of a Church supported by beings so humble, and destitute of all the worldly ornaments.

In answer to an excellent speech by Lord Suffield, the Bishop of Bristol observed, that "the "evil of pluralities was not in the amount of "the income of the person holding them." In this opinion the Bishop only presumes to differ from his Divine Master, who teaches that it is easier for the camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Heaven.

And these men aver that they do not preach one thing and practise another. Their state is one gaudy expression of contempt for the word of Christ. Their disbelief is set forth in their revenues. We there see of what force are the divine precepts, when they would restrain their cravings, and deny them "the pomp and vanities of this wicked world"—the purple and the palaces, and all the allurements of luxury, wealth, and power, which cause the "*competent*" sprigs of nobility to enter the Church. Such is the confessed holy vocation to the Established Church! The money-changers have repossessed the Temple; the chink of turning the penny is the summons of the votary. The crown of thorns, or of glory, would have no noble aspirants; for a "*competent*" priesthood, the crown of gold must be offered,—the mitre which would fit the godhead of Mammon himself, and circle his vast avarice. Dives was cast out of his time. Had he lived in our day, he would have been accepted by the Church as a

"*competent*" person, and might have become a Bishop, and sat in the House of Lords, instead of passing his time in Tartarus. Lazarus was best off in his age. Had he lived among us, a Clerical Magistrate would have committed him to the tread-mill, as an incorrigible rogue and reprobate, who had no settled habitation, and could not give a good account of himself.

An article on ecclesiastical property, in the *Quarterly Review*, makes us more strongly feel the necessity of a work we have before recommended—namely, the Conversion of the Church of England to Christianity. The writer of the paper to which we refer professes to take every view of the wealth of the Church, and only omits to consider it with relation to the scriptural doctrines of the soul-corrupting effect of riches. The Reviewer says:—

"The Church of England is not an Apostolic "Church, cries one, with the Puritans of old time. "Square it by the model of the Acts and of the "Epistles, and it will be found out of all compass. "St Paul and St Peter had neither livings nor "tithes, for here lies the gravamen of the "charge, &c."

No such thing. Here does not lie the gravamen of the charge. The gravamen of the charge against the wealth of the Church is, that wealth is repeatedly and emphatically condemned as an impediment to salvation by the founder of Chris-

tianity; and we ask how the large pecuniary rewards of the Clergy can consist with belief in the divine lessons on this head? Mahomet forbad wine, and what would have been thought of the faith of his priests, and their reverence for his doctrines, had each step in their preferment been attended with an increased allowance of liquor? The *Quarterly* proceeds to argue—

"Those who would tie down our own Church to "the right observance of primitive usage in things "indifferent, would do well to remember that, if "the rule is good for the Clergy, it is equally good "for the laity, and that it was the primitive usage "of these latter, a usage approved by the Apostles "too, to sell their lands and houses, as many as "possessed them, in order that distribution might "be made to every man according as he had need, "all things being held in common; so that if the "representatives of the Apostles are to be unbene-"ficed, it is only fair that the representatives "of the hearers of the Apostles should be un-"squired."

But, we answer, the Clergy are bound to begin. It is their office to set us the example of renouncement. They are the guides, and why do they not show the way? They set up for teachers, and it is for them to give evidence of the liveliness of their faith. So long as they shuffle after wealth as the appropriate reward of holiness, the laity have a sanction for their own practices. The con-

vincing act of faith would be the renouncement of wealth by the Clergy. There is not another instance in which they could give indisputable proof of faith, for men's lives and sentiments may always allow of doubt, but the surrender of riches, in conformity with the bidding of Scripture, would be an unquestionable example of belief; yet we may wait till the time when the wolf renounces the lamb, and the lion crops herbage, before such evidence will be afforded. Our Priests see that the doctrine of poverty is not suited to their time. They coolly argue that their omniscient Master had not foreseen the exigencies of an age of refinement. They could not maintain their respect without wealth—that is to say, instead of combating Mammon, they seek to derive unholy reverence from his favours. Acting on the same rule, a man pledged to sobriety would get drunk among topers, lest they should scorn his temperance. Had the Clergy acted up to their precepts, would Mammon have had such worship that none could enjoy the world's respect but those honoured at his shrine?

THE FRANCHISE AND THE BALLOT.

It has been the Aristocratic fashion to describe the Franchise conferred by the Reform Bill as a boon, and to heap the reproaches of insensibility, ingratitude, or caprice, upon those who have omitted to qualify themselves. We shall not stop to inquire whether this representation is referable to ignorance, to the desire to debase, or to the eagerness to vilily the people; to any one of these three things it may be assigned, and all of them are to be found in the class whose language we quote. As the suffrage has hitherto been bought and sold, there are, doubtless, many exalted persons who cannot disconnect from it the idea of some peculiar profit to the possessor, and who, accordingly, claim gratitude for bestowing the franchise as so much marketable power. Others there are, who, with clearer understanding and a crafty purpose, would accustom the people to hear the Franchise talked of as a boon, that it may be treated as a boon, and used solely and sordidly for the benefit of the possessors. The people, however, will accept it in no such sense. Considering it as a privilege, the honest use of which involves trouble, and in many cases peril, they have natu-

rally a reluctance to exercise it while the Ballot, the only protection against the resentment of those who have power of injury, is wanting. It is most inconsiderate, or most impudent, to reproach these men with slighting a boon; they are not slighting a boon, but waving a charge, the securities for which are not afforded; and in proportion to their resolution not to bend to undue influences, must be their disinclination to become exposed to them, when resistance may be attended with serious injury or absolute ruin. They say, "If we cannot "be electors without being knaves or persecuted "men, we will decline the Franchise. If the "public needs our choice of representatives, let it "throw the protection of secresy around it. "Society has no right to call upon us to brave "ruin, and we will not wrong our consciences." This is not the predicament of all, but it is the predicament of many, and good, men. Some there are who have readily qualified in the security of independence; others, a bold few, who dare all consequences; and others again, in carelessness of the duties they are taking upon themselvs; but the men standing aloof, not choosing to expose themselves to persecution, and resolved, if they undertake the trust, to perform it conscientiously, are those who have, probably, the most solemn idea of their duty; and the value of their honesty is lost to the community for want of the

protection which they require, and can only find in the Ballot.

Before the arts of corruption were known the Franchise was an onerous charge; to virtuous men it will again be, if not onerous, at best of no peculiar benefit to the possessor. The honest elector will only derive from his suffrage a share in the blessings of good government, which his unfranchised neighbour will also enjoy without the care and trouble of exercising the Franchise. So far is the Franchise from being a boon or favour, that the benefits procured by it are benefits to the common weal, for which the electors pay the price of exertions, perhaps sacrifices. If it be a boon for care and trouble to be imposed upon a man for a good in which he shares, in common with others who have not had the care and trouble, we agree that the enfranchisement is a boon. In Mr Macaulay's letter to the Leeds Political Union, he likens the elector to the juryman.

"I hope to see the day when an Englishman will "think it as great an affront to be courted and "fawned upon in his capacity of Elector as in his "capacity of a Juryman. In the Polling-booth, "as in a Jury-box, he has a great trust confided to "him—a sacred duty to discharge. He would be "shocked at the thought of finding an unjust "verdict because the plaintiff or the defendant had "been very civil and pressing; and if he would

"reflect, he would, I think, be equally shocked at "the thought of voting for a candidate for whose "public character he felt no esteem, merely be- "cause that candidate had called on him, had "begged very hard, and had shaken his hand very "warmly."

Now who talks of the boon of serving on Juries? Who would describe Peel's Jury Act as conferring a favour on those made liable to serve under it? Yet is it of inestimable importance that justice should be administered, and we perform our duties as Jurymen without murmur, but certainly also without esteeming as a boon the trouble which has been imposed upon us. The Special Jurymen, however, who made a trade of serving for their guinea, had another notion of the matter—to that mercenary, as to the corrupt elector, the employment was a favour. The honest Elector may consider his case as, in every particular, similar to that of the Juryman; as the Juryman shares in the benefit of enforcing the laws at the price of the time and trouble he gives in assisting, so the Elector shares in the benefit of good government, at the price of the care and trouble he gives to the choice of a worthy representative. But let us suppose a state of things in which the Juryman is exposed to the vengeance of powerful villains, who are interested in the defeat of justice. Let us suppose that they beset the Court House, and assail the Jurymen as they go to their duty, with pro-

mises of favour, or threats of the knife and the bullet. Let us imagine frequent examples of the massacre of honest men, who have performed their duty in defiance of all menaces. Would not the persons liable to summons in this case be entitled to call upon society to provide them with protection? Would they not fairly demand to be encompassed with securities? But some one would say, "God "forbid that the time should come when a Juryman "may not walk openly and fearless from the "Court House. I hope never to see Englishmen "desiring to be shielded from violence, or appre- "hending aught when in the honest discharge of "their duty." But the Juryman answers, "This "time is come. I am beset with vindictive "villains—the earth is red with the blood of those "administrators of justice who have fallen. En- "compassed by violence, I need and desire the "shield, and it is not because you dislike to see "the shield employed that I am to be denied its "safety. The murder of me will be more dis- "graceful to your state than the use of the means "necessary to my protection. You have a right "to demand my services, but you are bound to "defend me in the performance of them: you say "you hope to see me fearless in the midst of the "savage enemies my incorruptibility may make, "but it is not my business to lead a forlorn hope— "my mission is not military; it has no military "honor; no military appliances, and should not

"expose me to military perils. Guard me now "from dangers, and require my courage on an "appropriate occasion."

Thus, too, prays the Elector. He says, "I am "beset. Watchful, jealous eyes are upon me; "vindictive, unscrupulous, unsparing hands are "against me; envelope my action in secrecy, that "I may be honest without ruin. You have a right "to my virtue, but none to my destruction. You "invite me to dare all dangers for conscience' sake; "but the occasion is not one for daring, but for "judgment, and the service to the public required "of me bears no comparison with the conse-"quences I apprehend. Of what avail will an "exertion for good government be to me when I "am thrust from my home and the place of my "connexions, or brought to ruin by any of the "many means of injury at the command of power?"

The demand for the Ballot is becoming general and loud, and it must prevail; for it proceeds upon the experience of men, against which all pretences are powerless. It may be remembered, that in first stating our opinion of the plan of reform, we declared out conviction, that it was not more certain that day would follow night, than that the Ballot would succeed that measure; the extension of the Constituency rendering bribery less available, and exposing more objects to intimidation, which is sure to be exercised more freely, as the other instrument of undue influence, corruption, be-

comes less efficient. A very great portion of the new Constituency is of the class of retail traders, peculiarly liable to intimidation, and their cry for the crypt of political liberty is earnest, strong, and must prevail. Mr Abercrombie, at Edinburgh, has declared for the Ballot, observing, that it was nonsense to talk of the New Act as a final measure. It is pleasant to us to hear this language, bearing in mind, as we do, the storm of displeasure we raised by treating the Bill, on its first introduction, as merely a stepping-stone to further improvements in the Parliamentary Constitution.—Admiral Fleming, at Stirling, has also declared himself a convert to secret voting, and we reckon soon on finding enemies of the Ballot as rare as enemies of Reform have been for the last two years. The Admiral says,

"Formerly I was opposed to the Ballot, as being "an unmanly mode of voting; but from the un- "due influence which I have seen exercised in my "present canvass, I see that what is termed manly "voting would subject many honest men to the "vindictive lash of their landlords, and therefore I "have changed my opinion, and shall vote for the "Ballot (cheers)."

Lord Brougham boasted, in the House of Lords, that he had delivered in the Commons a *demonstration* against the Ballot. The *demonstration* we never saw nor heard of, though we have made careful inquiries after it; and it will be well for the

Chancellor to produce it without delay, or the question will be carried by acclamation before this battery in ambush is opened against it. We should be sorry that discussion should settle into silent and unalterable conviction, before the *demonstration* of so great an authority as Lord Brougham has been considered. Let us see all that can be said for making men slaves, martyrs, or hypocrites. We observe that Mr Macaulay and Mr Strickland are not for pressing the adoption of the Ballot, till the Reform Act has had a fair trial. The Reform Act cannot have a fair trial without the Ballot; for it is certain that the constituencies will not be completed while tradesmen, and others dependent in any way on the favour of the great, are exposed to intimidation. These persons will not register till protection is afforded to them. The constituencies, in consequence, will be so far below the desired and designed number,* that the intended improvement cannot be said to have a trial; and it is possible, that through this defect it may work mischievously—certainly the effect cannot correspond with the design, the design having been to give a constituency of a certain amount, which is deficient, in part from the blunders and faults in the act, in part for want of the necessary securities to the elector.

* This apprehension was realized in the deficient registration of the years 1833, 1834.

If ten thousand men were judged necessary to a certain military operation, and as the State refused to provide arms for those who happened to be defenceless, not more than 3,000, properly equipped, could be mustered to take the field, Mr Macaulay would see the folly of talking of giving the inadequate force "*a fair trial*" against the enemy. The appointment of the 10,000 as the necessary number, would be a strong argument to show that the 3,000 could not be employed with any effect but that of a repulse.

Mr Strickland, in his letter to the Leeds Union, says—

"I think that the Reform Act should have a fair "trial; and if the practical operation of it be such "as I anticipate, the time will not be far distant "when the advantages of the Ballot will be fully "and fairly demonstrated. Upon this subject, "however, there is a divided interest: many elec- "tors desire that protection against the influence "of unjustifiable threats, and the fear of injury to "their families, while non-electors would lose the "power which they now possess in consequence of "publicity. If possible, it should be joined with "a right to vote openly."

If non-electors are competent to exercise an opinion upon the choices of electors, they must themselves, *à fortiori*, be competent to choose, and universal suffrage should be substituted for the power they are assumed to possess. Whatever power the

non-electors now have, must be difficultly and irregularly expressed—sometimes faint when it should be strong, sometimes running into violence—and if with these circumstances of disadvantage a salutary control is exercised by them, they must be concluded quite sufficiently discreet and trustworthy for the franchise, the correct exercise of which is far easier than the censorship of the conduct and motives of the electoral bodies.

From the last sentence, proposing the option of secret or open voting, it is evident that Mr Strickland is not thoroughly master of the subject. For the working of the ballot, secrecy must be compelled. It must be put out of the elector's power to show how he has voted. He cannot, it is true, be tongue-tied from saying that he has voted for A or B, but the proof may be put out of his power, and who then will believe him? not the man for whom he professes to have voted, who will have his suspicions of the blab, but very probably the man for whom he has not voted, as men are always more credulous of injuries than of benefits, and thus the fellow makes an enemy of one candidate, and fails to ingratiate himself with the rival. This consideration, together with the discredit which will attach to any idle boastful talk, must soon make silence customary. Men naturally put their marks of displeasure upon any one who claims credit for himself, by stating that he has done things of which

he cannot possibly give proof. A moment's reflection must make Mr Strickland sensible that the option of the Ballot, or of open voting, would be fatal to the intention of protection; for the tyrannical landlord, the patron, or the creditor, would say to the unfortunate being under his influence, "Unless you choose to vote openly in obedience "to my directions, I shall conclude that you have "voted against me, and act accordingly." It is manifest that the choice could not be made by those who needed the protection of the Ballot, and thus the option so heedlessly proposed would completely defeat the intention.

[The doctrine that, in the present state of the Representative system, non-electors should control the electors' suffrages, and that therefore the Ballot was inexpedient, having been broached, the following answer was given.]

THE question is, whether the constituency is sufficiently large for the identity of interest of the enfranchised and unenfranchised. If it be not so, there is no remedy, no safety, no resource, but in the extension of the suffrage, for the unenfranchised public could exercise no influence of a force to keep the electoral body steadily in the path of

duty. The constituency, too small to comprehend the common interests, would yet be sufficiently numerous to baffle responsibility. Of this we have all had long experience in the conduct of corporations, which, composed of few members, have pursued their selfish sordid objects in defiance of popular odium. The undivided scorn and hate of society would be fearful penalties, but in our jarring political world the action which provokes the scorn and hate of one body of men has the countenance of another set, and there is no offence against the public interests for which there is not some place of refuge, some sanctuary for the safety and comfort of vice. The people hiss, but the patron applauds, and in the classes peculiarly addicted to sycophancy, the favour of the great or wealthy compensates the contempt of thousands. Yet many a man fawns on one he in his heart hates and despises, and whose foolish or corrupt bidding he would oppose in the secrecy of the Ballot. To rely on the responsibility of a scanty constituency to the unenfranchised masses, seems to us a groundless trust.

We have yet to learn how the non-electors are to exercise their control, in what way it is expected to appear, and to be so regularly apprehended as to constitute a responsibility. There are, we admit, extreme cases in which the few might dread to make themselves obnoxious to the wrath of the many, but they must be of rare occurrence, and

the responsibility to compel the performance of public duty should be of constant pressure. An old vixen in the 'Heart of Mid Lothian,' regrets that the time has gone by, when the populace could always "pebble the Judges with stones, when they were bad boys." This was a responsibility to popular opinion in extreme cases, but can it be supposed that it acted as a check on the abuses of judicial authority, not of a magnitude to provoke a riot?

As for the question whether the new constituency will be of such magnitude, that its interests will be identical with the interests of the people, we do not see how the trial can be made without the Ballot, as the sound and honest part of the designed constituency, which happens to be in a state of dependence, will stand aloof waving their rights, while they want the protection of secrecy in the exercise of them. These men would not decline the franchise, but from the apprehension of the tyrannical influences, which would be exerted to their injury for the part they would act in the behalf of the people. Were they sycophants or serviles, they would register, prostrate, and recommend themselves to the favour of patrons. Without the Ballot, the constituency cannot be strengthened by this class of voters, whose honest suffrages we should deem far more valuable than the weak and uncertain responsibility of the scanty enfranchised body to the non-electors.

Some objections to the Ballot, in so able and judicious a print as the *Scotsman*, surprise us more from their place, than from their nature, with which we are familiar *usque ad nauseam*.

The writer observes—

"It is assumed, that if candidates and their "friends cannot discover how electors vote, there "will be no canvassing, and no exacting of pledges "by great landlords and wealthy customers, from "their dependents, to support particular interests. "We doubt this extremely. Although open voting "were abolished, pledges of support would still "be exacted by the dominant from the dependent "party; and if they were, the only boon which "the Ballot would confer on the elector, would be "the privilege of playing false with his own "honour and conscience, by first giving a promise "(extorted, although it be by fear), and then "breaking it, because only God and himself can "know that he does so. This is no enviable pri-"vilege; and yet it appears to us, at present, to "be all, or nearly all, that the Ballot could confer. "In the great majority of instances, the man who "gives a solemn promise, although extorted by "dread of patrimonial loss, will redeem it, not-"withstanding of the Ballot; because he would "feel less degraded in surrendering, by compul-"sion, his freedom at the shrine of his interest, "than in staining his soul with falsehood."

Is there not the *falsehood* of action as well as the *falsehood* of the tongue? Does not the man *lie*, who, with his conviction in favour of one candidate, goes to the poll and gives his suffrage against his sense of public duty, to the other, for whom he is commanded to vote, though he believes him incapable, or unworthy of the representative trust? Is not this a practical lie of the worst sort? Is not the poor enthralled creature not only guilty of falsehood, but of the violation of his duty to society? The suffrage is given to him, to be exercised according to his judgment of the candidate's fitness, and he has abused it, mendaciously pretending a choice. The writer proceeds—

"To promise under the influence of fear, to "support a cause of which we disapprove, is to put "our necks under the yoke:—To break that pro- "mise secretly, is not to achieve independence; "but to add meanness to subjection, which last "may be involuntary, and therefore not dis- "graceful."

And pray what does the intimidated voter, who goes to the open poll, but promise, under the influence of fear, to support a cause which he disapproves? and by performing his promise, he gives the encouragement of success to his tyrant. On the other hand, he who breaks a promise,—which may be classed with those, more honoured in the breach than the observance,—does something towards

achieving independence; for, by lessening the tyrant's security in such base engagements, he lessens the motive to attempt them.

The writer continues—

"All success in private life; all valuable public "institutions; and all substantial improvement in "the condition of the community, require intelli- "gence, strong attachment to moral rectitude, and "a bold independent spirit, in individuals, as their "basis. The importance of Parliamentary Re- "form, according to our judgment, consists chiefly "in its tendency to produce these qualities in the "people, and to improve their character as moral "and intellectual beings. Let us beware, there- "fore, of rashly resorting to a practice, which "would tend to cultivate dishonest purpose and "cowardly feeling in electors."

Is there less of dishonest purpose, less of cowardice, in the suffrage of the elector delivered at the open poll, against his judgment and his sense of public duty? Will men ruin themselves rather than vote for B, when they think A the better man? We believe not often. Do we want them to display daring or judgment? If judgment, give them the Ballot; if the rare courage of martyrs, the open poll. Why have we a police? There was a greater exercise of courage, when each man's hand guarded his own life and property, yet we never heard it objected to the protection of a police, that it would produce a cowardly

feeling in the community. There seems to be courage enough for all present purposes, even though the choice of ruin, for duty's sake, should not be proposed for the rare exhibition of the rarest kind of fortitude. Mrs Peachem advises Filch to go to Hockley in the Hole and learn valour; there is, probably, as much to be learnt there as at the hustings, or that other respectable school, long reputed conservative of courage, the prize ring.

But to conclude: let us suppose a man subject to intimidation, and promising his vote against his conviction of fitness, he (we will call him A) goes to the open poll, and gives his suffrage for the candidate whom he thinks unworthy, or mischievous. A has thus played the hypocrite in pretending a choice against his conviction of demerit, and his conduct has been opposite to the line of public duty. Let us now see how the protection of secret voting would work on this sort of case. B is also dependent on a patron, and is pledged to vote against his conviction, (if we can suppose any patron fool enough to commit himself by exacting a promise, which it is shameful to solicit, when he cannot see the performance); B goes to the Ballot, and gives his suffrage according to his judgment of the fitness of the candidate, and *against* his promise. He, like A at the open poll, has played the hypocrite, but there is this material difference, that B's action is in the line of his public duty; and

A's action was against his public duty; now, assuming the falsehood common to both cases, to be equal in immorality, (which is not so, for A's is the worse case, as he is false to society, and B is false to a rogue), which is the less injurious to the public?

EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT.

THE idea of "Equitable Adjustment" is, probably, as of high antiquity as robbery, and in the felonious mind of all climes and ages, has been "often thought though ne'er so well expressed." The man in need, who supplied his wants by seizing on his neighbour's stores, doubtless regarded the action as an "Equitable Adjustment," and plumed himself on redressing the wrongs of fortune. The first rude intent of an "Equitable Adjustment" may, indeed, be traced in the history of Cain, who, seeing that his offering was less acceptable than Abel's, thought to relieve himself of the inequitable depression by slaying his brother. The needy soon began to contrast the abundance of others with their privations, and to perceive an equity giving them a decree, according to the power of their arms, or the nimbleness of their

fingers, to share with the provident and thrifty. Each of these men sat as Chancellor in his own Court of Equity, and adjusted to the uttermost of his opportunities and capacity. There is, in the mind of man, so natural and strong a disposition to Equitable Adjustment, that it may seem wonderful how law could ever prevail against it; but Equitable Adjustment was, at all times, and in all circumstances, attended with this great inconvenience, that there was no limiting its operation, —no security against its recurrence, oftener than was desirable. The adjuster of one day might be subjected to adjustment the next, and the equity he had exercised upon one might be exercised on him by another, more needy and more potent. Hence, from no higher motive than convenience, law seems to have been generally preferred, and the institution of property secured. From the period when, all things considered, men thought it, on the whole, better not to be thieves, the names of purposes, actions, and actors, have been bestowed by the greater number, who have stickled for the distinction between *meum* and *tuum*: hence, the ancient practice of Equitable Adjustment has passed under the various descriptions of highway robbery, housebreaking, felony, larceny, or the yet larger terms of rapine, spoliation, &c. At no time, indeed, have the adjusters ceased to exist, and to cherish in their minds the principle of equity, as consecrating their method of settling the differences of fortune, or

redressing the fluctuations of property; and it is remarkable, that their administration of equity has been as summary as that of the Court for the same object, having so many other points and practices in common with them, has been dilatory; yet, the identical motive which induces the speed of the one, explains the delay of the other, and we find the closest affinity between the working of the High Court of Chancery, and the works of the unlicensed apostles of equity on the highway. Thus much we have said, to show, that the name of "Equitable Adjustment" is not so inappropriate to the design of those who have advocated it, as may at first appear, and that it is the proper clothing of the sentiment of those, who yet hold to the

> "Good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep, who can."

To consider this subject fully, we are aware that we ought to look at robbery in all its modes and bearings, and to trace the principle of adjustment, not only in the doings of the highwaymen and the housebreaker, but in the statesman, and the patronage of the sinecure and the pension. Every where, in lonesome road, thronged street, place of power, or political assembly, the Equitable Adjuster looks solely to himself, his own relief, his own conve-

nience. The man who supplies his wants by seizing the property of the traveller, comforts his conscience with the thought that he is taking from superfluity to minister to need; but he does not care to inquire how this course of adjustment may affect his prey, and whether it may not reduce him to the necessitous state he has been compelled to relieve. Thus our Equitable Adjusters, when the bargain is against them, clamour for an alteration of the terms, but they never consider the effect which the alteration may have on the present fundholder, or advert to the long stage of the contract in which the bargain was unfavourable to the creditor. They would play the toss up with the creditor on the terms "Heads I win, tails you lose. When the bargain is bad, you abide by it; when it is advantageous to you, I adjust." Admitting that Peel's Act gave an advantage to the fundholder, is it not yet to be considered that, anterior to the covenanted return to cash payments, he had been paid for more than twenty years in a depreciated money; and are not the losses during that period to be ascertained, and balanced against the gain in the last twelve years, before an exorbitant profit on his part can be made the ground for demanding a disturbance of the contract? When the creditor suffered, he never complained; when his dividends, paid in a depreciated paper, were becoming less and less equal to the supply of his wants, we heard

nothing of *Equitable Adjustment*, and the injustice of borrowing at one rate and paying at another. He made his bargain "for better for worse, for richer for poorer," and abided by it patiently and without murmur when it was against him.

The adjusters who, with the word of command, "*as you were*," are for returning us to the state prior to Peel's Act, talk as if the fundholders, who would suffer by the change, were identically the same persons as those who have benefitted by cash payments, and they put the thing proposed on the footing of restitution. The fallacy of this should be obvious. Many of the fundholders of the present time have purchased stock with the enhanced currency, and the equity which would strip them by depreciation, is manifestly of that sort which, speaking its decrees through the mouth-piece of a pistol, takes the purse from the traveller on the high road, simply and solely because the robber wants what his prey possesses. But, as we before observed, the inconvenience which originally made "Equitable Adjustment," or the plundering of Peter to relieve Paul, cede to law,—that is, the impossibility of limiting its operation, or preventing a perpetual recurrence disturbing the possessions of the adjusters themselves, would yet attach to any project that a Master of the "*Brummagem*" Mint could possibly devise. Further, it is quite clear that, on the same principle on which the public creditor's contract is disturbed, all other

contracts must be disturbed,—the engagements of the mortgager and the mortgagee, the landlord and tenant, the buyer and seller, would all be unsettled and subjected to adjustment. This done, heaven knows when and how (though Mr Cobbett suggests the means, seeing, as he clearly does, that the principle once put in action, allows of no limitation to the bargains of the State, and must be carried through all its applications to private transactions); the same thing would remain to be done again, whenever any fluctuation should occur in the value of money, and it would be clamoured for, whenever debtors found it difficult to pay. Thus, credit would be altogether annihilated. "Equitable Adjustment," which is advocated, in contempt of faith, for convenience only—such convenience as dictates the robber's settlement of the differences of fortune with the traveller on the highway—would, in fact, be attended with inconveniences, difficulties, and embarrassments insuperable; but these evils would be insignificant, when compared with the destruction of security, which is the essence of a civilized state. Peel's Act has had its evils, but the evils have gone through the worst part of their course, and there is less mischief in abiding by them, than in seeking their cure by a return to the diseased state in which our injudicious treatment commenced, unless, indeed, we take as our model the man of Thessaly, famed for wondrous wisdom in nursery rhymes, who, having scratched his eyes out by

jumping into one hedge, jumped into another to scratch them in again.

Were more to be said in favour of Equitable Adjustment than has ever yet been uttered, or is conceivable, we should hold that the time has not yet arrived for the consideration of it—nay, that barely to consider of it now were a dishonesty; for the conduct of a nation in difficulties should be the conduct of an honest man in difficulties, and does such a one think of compounding with his creditors before he has retrenched his unnecessary expenses, and dispensed with all articles of show and luxury? Before we hear of "Equitable Adjustment" we must cease to hear of millions for the support of Royalty, a profligate Pension List, an useless Diplomatic Service, a numerous Standing Army waiting on the most pacific policy, and a wealthy Church plunging one-third of the kingdom into strife. Before any plan for breaking faith with the public creditor can be looked at, we must see the Church property placed to the public account, and the Clergy moderately paid according to their services, and only where there is a demand for them; pensioners dismissed, troops disbanded, military institutions broken up, the salaries of all the superior public functionaries reduced, the property of the Crown, the Duchies, &c. sold, and the state of the Monarchy accommodated to the distressed circumstances of the nation. As a plea for every extravagance, we have long been accustomed to

hear of the Dignity of the Crown, and the necessity of upholding it; but before we contemplate the spoliation of the fundholder in anticipation of bankruptcy, we must hear of the Honesty of the Crown, and the renouncement of its trappings for the modesties suited to the necessitous condition of the nation. The Honour of the Crown must show itself in the severest economy before one stiver is withheld of the covenanted dues of the public creditor, who has trusted his means of support to the State in reliance on the public faith The first Magistrate of England should dwell in the decencies of the American President before the fundholder is dispossessed of his property on the plea of necessity, or apprehended bankruptcy. Nor should this be all. Before we take what we have no right to take, an inquisition must be had to ascertain what we may with justice claim in the way of restitution, and the harpies who have fattened on the public plunder should be called to account and compelled to disgorge. If possession is to be disturbed—if any necessity sufficiently strong for the disturbance of possession, not disputable according to the existing law, presses upon us, the possessions which have accrued from public pillage are the first and fittest subjects for seizure, and we have all a pretty good guess where they lie, and where the scrutiny should commence. No time estops the claims of the King, and no time should estop the claims of the nation when on certain grounds

seeking restitution from roguery, rather than resort to confiscation against the confiding and the unoffending. A view of the public accounts would enable us to trace to favoured individuals sums to a vast amount, for which no service had been rendered or could be pretended. Much hardship would fall on innocent descendants, it may be said, from such a process of restitution, and it were better to content ourselves with securities against future malversation than to scrutinize and revoke the misbestowed rewards of the State for years past: this doubtless is true, but the evil of such a course of proceeding would be preferable to the greater mischief and dishonesty of plundering the fundholder—before which extremity is proposed, resort must be had to all other expedients for the public relief having in them any show or savour of justice. Try all things, we say, before a notorious and unquestionable wrong. And while waste, luxury, and a vicious bounty, are to be seen in the State, hold the man in suspicion who, by preaching the robbery of the fundholder for the relief of the public burthens, would divert the minds of the people from the proper objects of retrenchment to a measure of the most heinous dishonesty. While a shilling can be fairly retrenched, let us not think of knavishly denying a shilling where it is strictly due: when we have done all we can do for a rigid economy—such as should be practised, supposing

the bankruptcy to be staring us in the face, which is the only plea for Equitable Adjustment—then it will be time to obey necessity should it dictate composition; but firmly are we persuaded, that by the employment of all the means of saving and obtaining money, which should precede the extremity in question, it would be averted, and the national resources and energies made available to support the Honesty of the Nation.

A KEY TO THE BALLOT QUESTION.

WITHOUT any fear of wearying our readers, we return again and again to the Ballot, knowing the great interest of the subject, and the anxiety of the public to be guarded against the pretences or sophistries which are put forth to discredit the only resource against the foul influences. There is not, however, any adverse argument which our friends may not dispose of as easily as we can by employing the rule which has enabled us to unravel all the entanglements of this question. It is simply as follows:—

Every objection to secret voting applies more strongly to open voting; or, every vice which can be supposed to exist in consequence of the Ballot,

exists far more extensively and injuriously in the present system.

Every argument against secret voting will be broken up by the working of this rule. Whatever be the circumstances supposed by the opponent, let the reader consider what will be the effect of them at the open hustings. Dependency he will find the common term of every hypothesis; upon this the evil power in every conceivable case turns; and in the open voting it turns against the public object—in the secret for it. For example, Mr Spring Rice, at the Cambridge election, argued thus against the Ballot:—

"Let me put a case—suppose a master who em-
"ploys many workmen: he canvasses them, and
"threatens dismissal if they do not promise to vote
"for his favourite candidate. They may, it is
"true, refuse such promise, but they may also,
"under the present system, decline breaking their
"word, or abandoning their principles. But if
"they yield, the promise is given; if they keep
"their promise, the present evils remain unmiti-
"gated; they vote against their opinion. But it
"is suggested that they may break their promises.
"True; but *is it to fraud, to lying, and to dis-*
"*honesty, that we can or ought to trust for a re-*
"*medy in this case? Are hypocrisy and baseness*
"*thus to become the pledges and guarantees for*
"*English freedom?* I go a step further; not

"only may the voter break his promise, but he "assuredly will do so."

Now let us see how our rule will work on this example. Here are men in a state of dependence; it is their duty to vote for A., the candidate whom they think the most worthy; but their master threatens them with dismissal if they refuse to vote for Z. The same apprehension of loss of bread which under the Ballot would induce these poor fellows to give the tyrant their feigned promises of compliance, would, in the system of open voting, cause them not only to give their promises but their suffrages also at the poll. In the Ballot, on the other hand, they would vote against their promises to the tyrant who menaced them, and according to their convictions—that is, according to their public duty. At the open poll they would vote according to their promises to the tyrant, and against their convictions—that is, against their public duty. Now in which case is there most fraud, most lying, most hypocrisy, and baseness? We fling back these terms upon Mr Rice, and will affirm, and prove, that for these practices, in their uttermost foulness, he is pleading. He is the advocate for the "fraud," the "lie," the "hypocrisy," and the "baseness." He is the advocate for the "fraud" which would send the workmen to the poll as the voters for Z. though their choice was for A.; he is the advocate for the "lie" which these poor

creatures would utter when giving in their votes against their sincere preferences; he is the advocate of the "hypocrisy" of their professing to be what they are not, in a solemn act before the face of hundreds; he is an advocate of the "baseness" of violating a public duty—for all these things are compelled of helpless dependence under the system of open voting, when the convictions of the enthralled elector are opposed to the will of the tyrant. But in all the arguments against the Ballot, it is to be observed, that the public duty is treated as of no account; and for this reason, that the opponents of the Ballot are openly or covertly interested in frustrating the public duty, weakening its force, and narrowing its range. Thus we hear much of the elector's engagements to the tyrant or the tempter, but nothing of his obligations to society—much of the baseness of his breaking his promises to the rogue, but nothing of the crime of his betraying his trust; though both cases of immorality are under consideration, and the question really is, which of the two evils is the least.

Let us suppose that a servant promises to rob his master, but repents and breaks faith with his confederate, who finds the door barred against his entrance. Is there in the world a Spring Rice who will ask, "Is it to lying that we can consent to owe the safety of life and property in this case?" Is there any one capable of contending that the servant should rather have proved false to his trust

than have broken his promise to the thief? And why is not the breach of the elector's trust considered a far greater offence, than the breach of the promise to abuse it? Because public duty has no value in the eyes of those who employ these arguments against the Ballot, or because it is the very thing which they dread as fatal to their power, and would labour to destroy. So significant an omission never appeared in any course of argumentation, as this entire omission of regard to the elector's duty to society in the tirades against secret voting, whilst so much stress has been laid on the enormity of breaking faith with the tyrant or corrupter.

With the tyrant or corrupter are the sympathies of these reasoners;—it is for his cause they plead, it is his sway they would continue, it is against the death-blow to his power that they desperately strive.

It is asked, what is to be thought of the man who gives a promise intending to break it? We ask in return, what is to be thought of one who gives a promise to violate his duty, intending to violate his duty? The latter is clearly the greater offender. Let us pursue the preceding illustration. The servant has been terrified into promises to open his master's door to the midnight robber, but has only pretended compliance to procure his own escape, and has had no intention of betraying his trust. Will any one argue that this man is more

blamable than the fellow who, having promised to commit the crime, accomplishes it?

The *Chronicle* puts a case in strict analogy:—

"Suppose a landlord were to say to his tenant, "'I have got a cause coming on at Chelmsford "'Assizes; you must give me your pledge to be "'there as a witness, and swear to such and such "'a falsehood, or else ....' We say that there "is no difference in principle between suborning "the testimony of a voter at the Poll and suborn- "ing the testimony of a witness in a Court of "Justice; indeed a voter is nothing more than a "witness to character, for the candidate whom he "conscientiously prefers, on one signal and solemn "occasion. If landlords thought themselves war- "ranted in suborning false testimony in a Court of "Justice, by the same threats and tortures as they "now suborn it at elections, all security even for "private rights would be subverted, and our judi- "cature would become a mere instrument of their "disastrous dominion, just as our Legislature has "been up to the present moment. Should a de- "pendent be induced, under the influence of "threats, to promise that he will appear and give "false evidence in his landlord's judicial cause, we "maintain that he ought not to fulfil it; and we "say exactly the same, in the case of a compulsory "promise to vote."

Let us examine another instance suggested by Mr Rice,—puerile enough it is, but with puerili-

ties we must deal in disposing of the objections to the Ballot:—

"Secrecy is the whole recommendation of the "Ballot. May it not be doubted whether secrecy "could be maintained? Suppose the election "over, and the electors met at the Crown, where "we have conversed together, or at the Smoaky, "or Sociable, would they not discuss the merits of "the respective candidates and the conduct of the "electors, and would not the secrets of the Ballot-"box necessarily transpire? Or if this temptation "could be withstood, would not there be still more "difficult trials to be undergone? Imagine a "good Whig voter returning from the hustings to "a good Whig wife. 'How comes it, my dear,' "the matron would ask, 'that you marched up to "Parker's piece with the purple flags; you cannot "have been voting with the Tories?'—'Oh, no, "mistress,' would be the answer, 'I would burn "off my hand first. I stand true to my colours. "Though I marched with the Purples, I voted "with the old Blue and Buffs.' Thus would the "secret be revealed: the wife's arms would be "cast round her husband's neck in an affectionate "embrace. The voter would prove both his affec-"tion and his patriotism, but forfeit all claim to "discretion, and would break the spell of the "Ballot."

Such cases may occur, but what would be the effect of them? Of what force would be the

statement of the wife, in the habit of incredulity produced by the Ballot? And how would this case stand in the existing system? The husband would march with the Purples (the hypocrite whom the anti-Ballot folks so profess to hate), though his preferences went with the Blues, and he would vote with the Purples against his conscience! His dependence is the same either in the Ballot or at the open poll; but in the first, the domineering influence is only of force to make a show of submission, and in the second, it obliges the act of subjection. The public gets what it wants, the honest vote; the wife gets the secret; the tyrant gets the disappointment. Is there much amiss in this? or does Mr Rice think it better that the wife should despise her husband for being such a slave and hypocrite as to vote for the Purples, and that the tyrant should succeed in extorting the unwilling vote, and the public lose the benefit of the conscientious choice?

We may surely institute the Ballot when the worst miscarriages that can be imagined in its operation are such as we have observed upon. The truth is, that the secrecy of the Ballot cannot be violated till its work be done. The vote according to the conviction has been given, and if it be blabbed of, will the blab be believed?

We use keys, bolts, and bars, although there are picklocks, files, and centre-bits available for robbery. The lock may be forced in some cases, but

is that an argument against the general use of the key? Do we not find that there is an advantage in removing things from the eye of temptation, and in increasing the difficulties in the way of crime? The thief may break through the barred door, but it would not improve our safety to leave it open. The Ballot is, however, superior to this illustration, for it is stronger than any mechanical contrivance, as the secret is locked in the voter's breast, and even his tongue is not an infallible key to it. It is, indeed, at once the crypt of political honesty, and its place of power for resenting all attempts upon integrity. In it the dependent have a momentary independency, and a potent will.

But, it is said, electors will talk, and their choices will be inferred from their opinions. If so, they will soon learn to reserve themselves for action. Meanwhile the exercise of the influences, for want of subjects, will be falling into disuse. But in the conjectures of the uses the landlord or patron may make of information he may have from spies of the opinions of persons with whom he does not associate, the indisposition of even the worst of mankind to act severely on a vague suspicion is overlooked. The vote is not seen, it is only guessed, and few have the heart to persecute on guesses. Let us again apply our rule to this supposition: how do the dependent persons whose suffrages in the Ballot would be inferred from their conversation, act and talk in the existing system?

That they must vote according to the bidding of their tyrants is certain, and the majority of them will profess sentiments opposite to their convictions; for the pride of human nature revolts against the confession of subjection, and accordingly most men will wear opinions corresponding with their compelled actions. Now, is there no evil in the fictitious, the counterfeit opinion which must thence extensively prevail? and should the Ballot substitute silence for it, would morality, truth, and policy suffer by the change?

In these few instances we have worked out our rule of considering objections to secret voting, with reference to the effect of the same supposed circumstances in open voting; but it is not enough to show that the vices, lingering in the first case, will always be found far more extensively and injuriously prevailing in the latter: for the Ballot will not long suffer the mendacity or the hypocrisy, which are the products of bribery or intimidation, to exist. By discouraging and baffling the attempts, it ultimately does away with the effect.

THE FIRST SCENE OF THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT.

The fox was viceroy named.—*Gay.*

FONTAINE tells us of a motherly crab who exclaimed against the obliquity of her daughter's gait, and asked whether she could not walk straight? The young crab very reasonably pleaded the similarity of her parent's manner of stepping, and asked whether she could be expected to walk differently from the rest of her family? The moral of this is that we must not be too critical upon the first step of the new Commons. Undeniably it is a very one-sided, sinister movement, but it is the family gait, the crooked way of the race, from which this Parliament is legitimately descended. After all, the crab is its mother's child—a chip of the old block. In looking at the Reformation we must never lose sight of its source. The new Constitution is the offspring of the defunct, the product of corruption, and must we not expect to find in it some of the taint of the blood? We say this in mitigation of the angry feeling with which its first backward step is surveyed. When any proceedings of this sort are observed, let the reflection be to whom the

body owes its being, of what stock it descends, and what propensities belong to the parentage. The late Parliament confessed its own rottenness, and judged itself fit, in this state, to work out its own complete purification. With the tenderness of a patient for his own flesh it excised the cancer, and it did not cut deep enough. But yet we have improvement. The old House was not fit, was too extensively tainted for a complete self-reformation, but it has produced a body having less vice, and more energy to eradicate it. Thus we may proceed by degrees, casting slough after slough, fining upon fining, till we arrive at a tolerably pure representation, and the strainer of the Ballot—that most perfect filterer—will marvellously accelerate the process.

But the beginning is bad. "New brooms," says the proverb, "sweep clean;" but this is not a new broom, and has made a stroke of very dirty work. It is seen in its first act to be a passive tool of all work in the hands of Ministers. The first proceeding of a House boasting the representation of the people, jars against the feelings of the people. The first scene is one of trickery and falsehood. The Reformed Parliament puts up for its head-piece the *caput mortuum* of Toryism. This is a sorry sight! The genius of abuse must feel at home again seeing Mr Manners Sutton in the chair. The corrupt Parliament gave him a pension, the Reformed Parliament give him em-

ployment. Lord Grey did not think him entitled to a Peerage, and his colleagues pronounce him best qualified for the chair of the Commons. They would not send him up to the Lords, but as he finds his way into the Commons, his pre-eminent merits are said to entitle him to preside in it.

Lord Althorp stated that when he found Mr Manners Sutton again returned, he saw the great advantages which must result [query, to the Tory party] from replacing him in the chair, and he marvelled, or was, according to his own Abigail phrase, "really quite astonished" that any gentleman could differ from him.

Let us pause here to compassionate the state of honest Lord Althorp's mind while the return of this man of pre-eminent merit to the new Parliament was yet a matter of doubt. How uneasy must have been his thoughts while it was possible that the Reformed House might lack the presence, and with it the presidency, of this trancendantly qualified Tory. And how did he act under these anxious circumstances? Did he offer him (pardon the soft impeachment) any one of the new nomination boroughs,—did he tender him the representation of Chatham, which sounds not unapt for a Speaker? Or would he, could he have allowed the door of the House to be closed against this man so incomparably qualified to fill its chair? Were such rare, such unmatched merits to be lost to Parliament, or left to the chance of loss? If they

are of such inestimable service in the House, how must Lord Althorp have trembled while they were out of the House!—what must have been his agony during the Cambridge election, and how fervent his prayers for the success of this precious Tory and unique Chairman! But on our lives we believe that honest Lord Althorp was as insensible to all these considerations as Launce's dog. We don't believe that he would have moved a finger to procure the return of the only man for the chair; nay more, had he had a casting vote at Cambridge, he would have given it against the pattern of Speakers; and would have been perfectly content to see Mr Abercrombie in his present place.

LORD ALTHORP A THEORIST.

NOTHING comes more readily to foolish, ignorant people than a sneer at theorists, and yet they are eternally theorizing, and most dogmatically, without knowing it.

Lord Althorp, who is so leading a personage, so solid, so free from any levity, so approved of judgment that he is President of the Cattle Shows, as well as, by the grace of his Majesty, leader of the House of Commons—Lord Althorp, so vene-

rated as he is, is theorist *à la folie.* People stare to hear this, but we can easily make it manifest.

His Lordship has explained, that by the finality of the Reform he did not mean that there should be no other Reforms, but no other *Constitutional* Reforms,—

"Do I mean to say, because I used those words, "that the Reform of Parliament itself is final—that "no other Reform was to be introduced, and that "no advantages whatever were to accrue from it? "Certainly not. *I considered it final, and I sup-* "*ported it as final as far as regarded the Consti-* "*tution of the House itself,* and as a means by "which to effect other improvements and other "Reforms."

Thus, before the working of the measure had been seen, before its efficiency for the end proposed had been demonstrated, his Lordship had determined that it should be *final!* This, we repeat, is theory to a folly, unless indeed Lord Althorp feels conscious of the immediate inspiration of Minerva, and claims the positiveness of unerring wisdom. Had Lord Althorp ever a tight shoe? (We beg the simplicity of our instances may be excused, for when we address ourselves to Ministers it is necessary to make things very plain.) Again, therefore, we ask, had Lord Althorp ever a tight shoe? He says, yes: now we don't want to know the story of it, and the when and where, but simply to ask him whether he accepted it as a final

shoe, or whether he sent it back to be stretched, or flung it, as one might be excused for doing, to one who wears no shoe, having a foot like the beasts on whose fat and shapes Lord Althorp sits in supreme judgment? He walked in the shoe as if he would walk on egg-shells without crushing them; his soul was in his foot, all his sensibilities seemed bundled up and crushed in calf-skin, his eyes were ready to weep for his toes, his blood rose against the maker, he cursed the last in his bitterness of spirit, and resolved it should be no last, no final measure, for him. Now let us see him confronted with the shoemaker, let him point out with a fond and tender touch the precise place where the accursed thing pinched his dear flesh, and imagine the shoemaker resolutely to reply—"My Lord, when I "cut out the leather of that shoe for your foot, I "intended it to be final, and sent it home to you "as final, or finished, and I am determined not to "make any alteration in it. It ought to satisfy "you, and will, if you have a reasonable foot; the "measure is a very large one, and in short it must "fit you, for I resolved, when I made it, that you "should have no other."—"What!" cries the Lord, "must not I, who wear it, know best where the "shoe pinches, and have I not a right to have my "shoes made as I think proper?"—"Not at my "shop," replies the fashionable tradesman, with a civil bow, but a confident air. "If your Lord-"ship wants to put your feet in barges, and dislo-

" cate your ankles, you must find another to serve " you. The shoe is finished, final: *I* will never " change or alter it. *I* never was out in my " measure."

Now we do suppose that a constitution is a nicer thing to make than a shoe, and that a Minister might have more doubts about the fitness of the one for a people, than a shoemaker of the fitness of the other for a particular foot, and he must be a prodigious theorist or a demi-god, the rashest of speculators or the wisest of beings, who says of an untried measure, " This shall be, and there shall be no fault and no change in it."

THE IRISH COERCION ACT.

WHEN we styled Mr Stanley the Secretary at War with Ireland, it was not without presage of the extremities to which his distempered counsels were hurrying on the Ministry. More powers and more powers will be demanded, till no powers remain. The defeat of all the resources of a mighty government is in process. The demonstration of what cannot be done against a people is about to be worked out; and to make the example the more

decisive, it will be shown that no scruples of justice or humanity have withheld the employment of the sharpest means. The Council Chamber is now the Armoury, and the whole science of Government consists in the distribution of bullets and bayonets. These are the instruments with which Irishmen are to be penetrated with a love of laws and institutions. It is the old regime; and there are circumstances, such as those of Poland, in which it may succeed to extermination, but those circumstances are happily not ours. With barbarians a barbarous policy is effective—the instruments are hard, and relentless as the directing power; not so those with which the Government of a highly civilized people will have to do. What the eye does not see the heart does not rue, and there are always men ready to lay down vast plans of violence, but the subordinate actors seldom or never acquit themselves of the villany of their parts. If it were in the nature of things that the men who act in fields of strife could be as ruthless as those who plan in council chambers, humanity would have far sharper struggles than are in store for it. Tyranny has no hesitations, no scruples in theory, but it falters and breaks down in the practical part. A Stanley in meditation would no more be a Stanley in action, than a Stanley ordering his dinner would be the butcher killing his mutton.

Napoleon observed, that in war the moral force is as two in three to the physical; and in civil war,

or the rule of violence, the proportion must be much greater. The moral force is, however, precisely that which our Ministers leave out of their calculations. They have no notion of any other forces than those which Lord Hill commands. The savage, reasoning like Mr Stanley, when he misses his mark, says, "the more powder the more kill," he quadruples the charge, and he bursts the gun. So it will be with the Secretary, and all prudent men will stand clear of him. He is going to show the futility of force in its uttermost application; and this fine example is to be made, forsooth, for the better subordination of a people. The King, in a Speech which has occasioned more dissatisfaction and alarm than any since the days of the Stuarts, is made to ask for additional powers to control and punish in Ireland. The great cause of discontent is admitted in the recommended Reform of the Church; but he wishes "to control and punish" the symptoms of the confessed vice, the results of long abuse, long and insolent denial of its existence, and refusal of redress. To this late day the admission of the great grievance has been deferred, and it comes forth with breathings of vengeance; but is there justice "to control and punish," where there was not justice sooner to redress? Has the Government of England been as long patient of disturbance as of the imposition of the sinecure church? No, it is said, the extraordinary prevalence of outrage is new, but the

grievance of the church is old; to punish men no time is to be lost, no means withheld; the correction of institutions whose vices deprave men is a reluctant act of the last necessity. But injustice for its dignity—for injustice has a dignity as well as Royalty, and maintained too at vast cost—requires some object whereupon it may show its power before making a concession.

In Pandemonium the scheme for establishing a despotism in Ireland has been accepted with great satisfaction. All the evil spirits hail it with delight; the love of tyranny prevails even against the spleen of party, and Tories and Whigs are cordially united in this evil work. The hell-broth is brewing, and around it mingle black spirits and white, blue spirits and grey. The Lords of misrule, of all colours and denominations, cheerily join hands round the cauldron; party rivalries and jealousies are forgotten in an act of congenial mischief, or if a sneer or a reproach be vented, it is at the tardiness of the undertaking. The Tories in this conduct have signalized the sincerity of their devotion to despotism. Had parties been reversed, had the Whigs been in opposition, how different would their conduct have been in the same circumstances! What speeches, what protests, what angry declamations would have been launched against the project! And with what scorn the demand for arbitrary power, on the score of confidence in a man, would have been tossed to public

derision! Imagine the invective of Mr Brougham, the sedate reprobation of Lord Althorp, the argumentative refutation and austere protests of Lord Grey—but we need not imagine them, for Mr Shiel has quoted them in words of greater force in present objection than at the period of their original application.

Had Charles the Tenth had a Reformed Parliament, such as ours, he would not have been hurled from the throne for a violation of the Charter. A breach of the Constitution would not have been necessary for the purpose of his ordinances, for a Chamber like our Commons' House would have passed a law, enabling him by proclamation to suspend the liberty of the press, the privilege of complaint, and all other constitutional rights and securities. Charles not having a Parliament of the English sort, and wanting such legal authority for his ordinances as is about to be given to the proclamations of the Viceroy of Ireland, was resisted, vanquished by the gallant people, and flung upon our shores. We manage these things differently in England. In this country tyranny never wants the form of law. When the Constitution stands in the way, Parliament sets it aside, and clears the course for despotism. Poor Polignac! how he must envy our Ministers! In his report to the King, upon which the ordinances proceeded, he held the very language which is now employed by our Ministers to warrant the Irish Coercion Bill:

"Against so many evils the law and justice are "equally obliged to confess their want of power. "It would be superfluous to inquire into the causes "that have weakened the power of repression, and "have insensibly made it an ineffectual weapon in "the hands of the authorities. It is sufficient to "appeal to experience, and to show the present "state of things."

Let not the reader suppose these the words of Lord Grey in introducing the Coercion Bill to the Lords, the tenour is the same, but the expressions were originally Polignac's, in the Ministerial Report to the King of the 26th of July, a few hours before the presses were stopped, and the types were serving for shot. Polignac continued,—

"Judicial forms do not easily lend themselves "to effectual repression."

The very complaint they make here:—

"The insufficiency, or even the inutility, of the "institutions established in the laws now in force, "is demonstrated by facts."

The plagiary is obvious: our Whig Ministers have stolen the very words as well as the argument of Polignac. But with the counsels of Ministers the similarity ceases. The majority of 221 in the French Chamber of Deputies made their stand before the gates of liberty; our majority of 466 pick the lock, and would hold the door to Tarquin himself. When the Constitution was thrown down in Paris, the barricades were thrown

up; when the voice of the Press was silenced, the thunder of artillery was heard; when opinion was pent up, it fulminated in powder, and uttered its conclusions in most incontrovertible bullets.

Here in England all such extremities are avoided by the docility of the Parliamentary majority, which, by surrendering the rights of the people, and giving tyranny the sanction of statute law, prevents any conflict between an arbitrary executive and an indignant nation. The convenience of being betrayed is exceeding great. Swift blames ladies who suffer the fate of Lucretia, saying, "Why are they so wilful to struggle with men!" The yielding of our patriots, our trusty delegates, saves our Constitution from any Polignac violation. The legitimate ceremonies are always performed. The Tories throw no obstacles in the way of the game they love—they are obliging panders; they love the vice so well, that they have a prurient pleasure in helping even a rival to it. They play Mephistopheles to the Whig Faust. Alas, poor Margaret! The odds are many against virtue. The apostate is seconded by the enemy of mankind in every act of vice.

There is always a class of persons—"those good souls whose credulous morality (observes Burke) is so invaluable a treasure to crafty politicians"—who are ready to take personal security for public liberty. With these men the Constitution is the composition of the Cabinet. They have confidence

in Ministers. The Vizier will do no wrong. Grey is great!

Ministers will not abuse their power, Lord Grey at Whitehall will not act tyrannically under this Bill. Probably not. But how will they act in Ireland whom the Bashaw empowers to act? That is the question. The malignity of the tyranny is in the petty agents. The whole force of it descends to men new to authority, and who will make the possession of it a saturnalia to indemnify them for their customary constraints and denials. What controul can be exercised over these small depositaries of great powers? What cognizance can be had of their actions? The omnipotence of the Viceroy is unaccompanied with omniscience. He conveys powers which he has no means of guiding. It is his function to say of the trailers of sabres and smokers of cigars, the idle, thoughtless soldiery, whose heads wear the feather, and whose heel the iron—light of judgment, but of heavy and galling foot in oppression—to this band of the sword and the tinsel, whose business is violence, and whose leisure is trifling—tool and toy—idlers when not employed in the curse of mankind—proverbs of carelessness, transcendent gallants, gay harum-scarum scatter-brained fellows—to these, we say, it is the sublime attribute of the Viceroy to pronounce the word, LET THEM BE JUDGES—AND THEY ARE JUDGES! Such is the omnipotence derivable from Parliament; and with equal ease and effect

the same voice might be empowered to say to the Judges on the bench,—"Let them be Generals of Division," and they would be Generals of Division; or "Let the Lord High Chancellor be Lord High Admiral," and he would be Lord High Admiral. So wonderful are the powers of Parliament! Should our navy ever again be disorganized by mutiny, should the sailors, wanting confidence in the skill and good intentions of their officers, refuse obedience, we are now furnished with a rule for the suppression of rebellion, and the restoration of order and discipline:—lawyers should by analogy be appointed to the command of ships, barristers of two years' standing, men not unaccustomed to handle a scull between London and Richmond. Should the army be ever in the same ineffective state, as one turn deserves another, the judges who now give place to ensigns may then take their commands, for surely it cannot be contended that there is more of preparation and skill necessary for soldiery than for judgment. Were lawyers, upon proclamation by Lord Brougham of disturbed squadrons, to supersede captains in the command of ships, we might not suspect the Ministry of any intention to abuse their powers to the destruction of the navy, and yet entertain a very rational expectation that ships would be cast away. We might believe that the Admiralty would not approve of any improper orders, and yet tremble for the lives of men tossing about in the Bay of

Biscay under a wigged and gowned skipper. He is told to command according to Hamilton Moore; but Hamilton Moore is not so easily learnt and administered as the statutes at large are now supposed to be.

THE CASE MADE OUR OWN.*

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT, DUBLIN. HOUSE OF COMMONS. DISTURBANCES (ENGLISH) BILL.

MR BLENNERHASSET, Secretary for the affairs of England, moved the first reading of the Suppression of Disturbance Bill for England. He expressed his deep regret at the necessity which compelled him to propose a measure of this arbitrary kind, but said, it was uncontrollable; and that he had never greater confidence in any thing in his life than in his ability to convince the House of the expediency of this Bill—*confugiendum est ad imperium.* The melancholy state of England was unhappily a matter of too much notoriety, not only in the United Kingdoms, but throughout the civilized world. All Europe was shocked by its crimes; it had arrived at a state of unparalleled demoralization: truth, probity, justice, humanity, nay, reason,

* Ministers had endeavoured to prove the necessity for the Coercion Bill, by citing particular acts of outrage and enormity.

he might add, had long fled from that guilty land. The Learned and Hon. Member for the City of Westminster (Mr Dobson) had called upon the House to redress grievances before they punished the crimes to which the people had been goaded, and had tauntingly asked them to take the intolerable burden of the Catholic Church from the shoulders of the people of Protestant England before they laid the edge of the sword on their necks. But remembering, as he (Mr Blennerhasset) could not fail to do, the disappointment of the good hopes he had entertained from the Protestant Relief Bill, which had admitted the Protestants of England to a participation in the rights of their Catholic brethren, he had abandoned all expectation of advantage from any measures of redress, especially when they were given distinctly to understand that discontent and agitation were never to cease till the separation of the Legislature of England from the Parliament of Ireland should be accomplished; which he (Mr Blennerhasset) would resist to the death [loud and continued cheers]. Unfortunately, as he had before observed, the state of England was too notorious. He held in his hand a frightful catalogue of crimes; and the only difficulty was, with which lot he should begin. In that cruel land human beings were killed and sold for their flesh like sheep, with this difference—that they were first entrapped with pretences of kindness, and afterwards murdered in the slumbers of intoxication, or a sleeping potion. This practice, which pre-

vailed from Edinburgh to London, was familiarly and popularly called Burking; and it was no unusual thing, if a servant tarried on an errand, or a person failed in punctuality at a dinner party or an appointment, to hear it coolly observed, "I should not wonder if he has been Burked." He held in his hand a poem, which too accurately depicted this horrible pitch of crime. The motto was quoted from one of the daily histories of England, which were but chronicles of crimes; it ran thus:—"The extent to which the practice of Burking has been carried in the metropolis is perfectly astounding; people are missing in every quarter." —*Morning Herald.* This frightful fact is thus corroborated, with additional and more particular evidence, in a poem, in which a virtuous indignation seems to have inspired the muse:—

March, march! boil'd and raw lobsters!
Bow-street and Lambeth-street, what are ye arter?
March, march!—though devil a mob stirs—
People are missing in every quarter.
Placemen and pluralists,
Townsmen and ruralists,
Vanish around us, like sheep to the slaughter.
Soon shall we fish up
The wig of a Bishop;
People are missing in every quarter!

[*An expression of horror ran through the House upon the reading of these blood-curdling lines.*]—The Right Hon. Gentleman, after a pause, conti-

nued, with much emotion,—It cannot surprise me that Irishmen, to whose minds deeds of blood are strange, should shudder and thrill with horror at this hideous, but too accurate picture; but more remained to freeze the blood, and make the hair to stand on end like quills upon the fretful porcupine. The poem continued—

Spirit of Burke! whose belligerent fury
Halloed earth's bloodhounds to rapine and ruin;
Spirit of Burke—Burke the Second—whose fury
Doom'd thee to death scarce for darker misdoing!
Where'er you are lurking,
Behold but the *Burking*
That's now going onward in every quarter!
See poor Constitution
'Neath fell Revolution,
Pitch-plaster'd and pinion'd, prepared for the slaughter.

The Constitution of England had indeed long been defunct, and the proposed Bill was only intended to protect its corpse from the hideous abuses of crime and science. He had other papers in his hand, which showed the prevalent opinion, that the trade in a certain article of food, which constitutes a part of the favourite food of the people of England, was driven in human flesh. (loud groans.)

Mr Thomson called out—"Read, read! Name, name, name!"

Mr Blennerhassett continued—The papers were ballads, which he deemed of the very highest authority; for as they were written and sung for the

mass of the people, any falsehood in them would be instantly corrected and denied. In these ballads it was recorded that pork sausages were made of the flesh of little children, who were, as there was too much reason to believe, in many cases sold by their own parents [loud shouts of indignation.] But what is there, continued the Right Hon. Gentleman, which these depraved people will not sell? The Northern horde of them sold their king, and the Southern race sell their wives, their children, their own bodies even. He would mention a fact. A person went into a sausage shop accompanied by a favourite terrier dog, a remarkable animal, with two dots over his eyes, or tanned marks, which agreeable features had given a value to him with his owner. The person having been supplied with the sausages, looked around for his dog on quitting the shop; the faithful creature was not to be seen! In vain he whistled, and called Prince; yet the door had been closed, and the dog could by no apparent means have escaped. Suddenly the master of this hellish manufactory exclaimed—"Lord, Sir, I hope he has not fallen through the trap!" "What trap? what mean you?" cried the alarmed customer. "Why," rejoined the man—if man we may call the cook to cannibalism, "there is a trap which lets down our meat to the steam-engine, which chops it up below to mince; and if the dog has fallen in there, he has been cut up, and boiled, and rammed into the skins in the twinkling of an

eye; and, for aught I know, you may have him there in your hand in the pound of sausages, for our steam-engine makes a hundred weight a minute." This trap doubtless served as an *oubliette* for many a sturdy customer.

The improbity of the English people had reached as great a height as their barbarity. The case of Cook was an example of a class of crimes. A Mr Paas called upon him at Leicester for a small account, or debt. Observe the consequence. Cook knocked him on the head instantly; this is what the English call a *settler*, that is, in this way they settle their accounts. Will it be believed, that the atrocity was dramatized, and the incident being popular, became a favourite entertainment, under the name of "A New Way to Pay Old Debts?" Sir Giles Overreach represents the unhappy creditor, and the poetic justice in the last act consists in his barbarous assassination for asking for his money, which, with the consequence, is made the example of his overreaching himself! In the same way has been dramatized by this people the murder of Mr Weare by Thurtell; also that of Fualdes in France, performed on the English stage, as the play-bills expressed, "with the blood drunk by a real pig—the part by the celebrated Toby." Indeed, these acts are so popular, that they are always made matter of scenic exhibition. So much is murder prized by these people, so covetous are they of any memorial of deeds of blood, that the barn in which Maria

Martin was murdered by her seducer was sold in tooth-picks; [hear, hear! and cheers from the Ministerial benches;] the hedge, sprinkled with gore, through which the body of Weare was dragged, was sold slip by slip; every lock of Thurtell's hair was worth gold, the pistol with which he did the deed of blood fetched a large sum, and the rope with which he was hung was sold by the inch! The water of the well in which the Italian boy and others were drowned by Bishop was purchased at a crown a phial. What a frightful state of sentiment in a people did these notorious facts indicate!—[loud and protracted cheers.] I have before me, said the Right Honourable Gentleman, the affidavit of a celebrated physician, who says he was called in by a London lady, who, in proof of her broken health and spirits, said she had lost all interest in the murders in the newspaper. When restored by a mild treatment, giving tone to the stomach and strengthening the digestive organs, she thanked the doctor with tears of gratitude in her eyes, and said emphatically, "You have been the saving of me; *I now relish my murders.*" To what an unprecedented pitch had demoralization arrived, when even women were capable of this depravity of sentiment! But to proceed with the case of Cook. Cook having murdered Mr Paas, roasted the body, and ate it, though the fact was concealed by the witnesses, who did not dare avow the cannibalism which is secretly practised and generally favoured,

or I am greatly misinformed. As the strangling and selling the bodies of the victims had been called Burking, after the first person convicted of the practice, so the roasting the body of a creditor was called Cooking, after the name of the perpetrator. Sir, I have too much reason to think that in every house in England there is a Cook. Cook was petted and caressed in prison by all the ladies of the place; delicacies were sent him, and he was styled by the patroness of the Protestant Bible Society of the town "a blessed child of God." [Hear, hear, and expressions of horror.] Since this deed it has been impossible to collect debts in England. Every man who calls for his money expects to be killed or *settled*, as they say, and roasted, which is familiarly termed "consuming a tradesman's substance." An execution now and then takes place as a blind, just to avoid scandal, but there is hardly the name of justice in England. Juries sympathise with the worst criminals. A man was clearly proved to have broken his wife's neck; the foreman of the jury delivered a verdict of "Served her right."—Sheen cut off the head of his child because it cried; the Judge, sympathising with the aversion to out-cries of every kind, directed an acquittal, because the child was called Biddulph Thomas Sheen in the indictment, when its baptismal name was Thomas Biddulph Sheen. Thus between two names English justice fell to the ground. Upon this it was universally supposed that Sheen had a privilege of

cutting off children's heads, and he was applied to by thousands of the disciples of Malthus to operate; but being a steady circumspect man, a better sort of Englishman in every respect, he has always insisted on two Christian names as indispensable to his license, and cautioned the more sanguinary populace, that it is murder to kill a child unless a lawyer afterwards miscalls it in a bit of parchment. Are people to be trusted with the administration of laws who are capable of such barbarous irrationalities? What protection is there against such crimes and such follies? Sir, there is none. We must take away the law from these people before we can institute justice among them. Children in reason and equally in cruelty must not be trusted with edged tools. What is the state of society where a child is doomed to death in the presence of its mother? for Sheen's wife was present when he laid the infant on the table, and murdered it.—[The strong emotion excited in the House by the narrative of this circumstance, and the pathos of the Right Hon. Gentleman's manner, is indescribable.] Are we to sit quietly by whilst such transactions as these occur? Are we to permit the continuance of such a state as this? [Loud cries of hear, hear!] What, I ask, had been the consequences of permitting it so long? Not only is the law completely paralyzed, but is not this the fact also—that when these murders prevail, every moral check, every moral restraint, on which we calculate more than

upon the law to prevent murders, is completely at an end? [Hear, hear!] Do we ever hear in Ireland of the deliberate murder of children as in England? The Right Hon. Gentleman then proceeded to instance the crime of Mistress Brownrigg, the murder of the Marrs and Williamses; and cursorily touched upon the case of Eugene Aram, to show that the best educated classes were equally addicted to these atrocities. He then passed to crimes against property, and expatiated on the fires in Kent and the Southern counties, the sacking and burning of Bristol, the tumult and destruction at Nottingham, and the connexion between these enormities and the political opinions of the great mass of the people. He read the statements of Sir Charles Wetherell, Mr Macworth Praed, Mr Horace Twiss, and Lord Londonderry, that the Political Unions and the *Edinburgh Review* under the Grey Government had been the cause of these outrages. He then passed to the state of things in the metropolis of England, and described the frightful appearances of anarchy. The first object which the traveller sees on entering London by the great Western road is the house of the Hero of Waterloo, with iron blinds to protect the inmates from the missiles which would otherwise be showered in by an unbridled lawless multitude. He recounted the attack at noon-day, and in a most public thoroughfare, on the person of the Duke of Wellington, with the design of tearing him limb from limb. He instanced the

secret conspiracy formed in the city, the drilling and exercising of a body of rebel troops with wooden swords, whose words of command were overheard in the street, and who were actually made prisoners, but not brought to condign justice, the Secretary of State not having ventured to carry on the prosecution. Such was the state of intimidation which unnerved the law. He mentioned the case of Dennis Collins, who was employed by the Birmingham Political Union to stone the King to death; and concluded by saying, that he felt assured he had made out his case, showing the necessity for the proposed law, protective of the innocent against the recited enormities of the guilty. He finally declared that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in England, and also of Trial by Jury; the substitution of Courts Martial composed of Irish officers, who might be relied upon for impartiality and temper; the power of searching houses by night, and imprisoning in any place which the captors may choose, the prisoners to be detained till trial, or after acquittal, till the pleasure of the Viceroy be known; and punishing all persons found abroad between sun and sun, in any district proclaimed by the Viceroy, Sir Harcourt Lees, would be hailed as a blessing by the peaceable inhabitants of Great Britain. [The Right Hon. Gentleman sat down amidst loud cheers, and cries of "Divide, divide."]

THE FIRST BILL FOR THE REFORM OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

BEFORE we consider the measure of relief, let us look at the nature of the grievance. Of what have the people of Catholic Ireland complained—of what would the people of Protestant England complain if the Established Church were Catholic? Would it be of the distribution of the Church revenues or of the exaction of the Church revenues? Would it be of the application or the extortion of the tax? Would it be that this Catholic priest and that Catholic priest were better or worse paid than was equitable, or that the Catholic priesthood was charged upon us at all? Would the demand be for reducing dozens or hundreds, and should we be satisfied with any arrangement which continued to charge us with the maintenance of preachers of another faith? Were a burthen laid upon us in which we had no interest, from which we could derive no advantage, from which nothing but the humiliating sense of subjection could accrue, would our concern be with the improved arrangement of the parts of which it was composed or with the weight of the load? In fine, is our quarrel with the base of an imposition or the superstructure? There is often abuse within

abuse, but the affair of the people is with the outside abuse. The Catholic Irishman's grievance is the Protestant Church on his shoulders, but what is done *in* that Church is a matter of little moment to him, its place upon his back is the main and the galling affair. When a purse is taken from us, of what do we complain? of the way in which it is spent by the spoiler, or of the act of robbery?

In the measure before Parliament (the Temporalities Bill) there are large features of merit, but it is in the main a reform of the Church within itself, and not an abatement of the abuse on which the Church rests. It is rather a scheme for taking away flagrant scandals than for removing substantial grievances. The sinecure Clergy will yet be spread over the country. There is no reduction of the Church to the bounds of its uses; nor that sign of the just principle, any proposal to apply superfluous funds to moral objects. The utmost proposed by Lord Althorp in his exposition, the ability and tone of which, we must observe, do him great credit, is to give a Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners *discretionary* power to suspend the appointment of ministers to parishes in which no duty has been performed for three years. We cannot doubt how this discretionary power will be exercised, but in any case the sinecure is continued for the life of the incumbent. And what will be termed the performance of duty? Will it be reading prayers to one, two, or three

Protestants?—Perhaps half a dozen. Congregations of the requisite size will be hired to preserve the living.

There is a Schedule A for the bishoprics. Ten out of the twenty-two are to be abolished upon the death of the present possessors. This leaves the question why twelve should remain. And, after all, let it never be forgotten that the quarrel is not with the number of the Bishops, but with the imposition of the sinecure Church; and if the reduction of the Bishops will be attended with no corresponding reduction of the Church revenue, the grievance of the Catholic people of Ireland remains unabated, however much the Protestant Clergy may benefit by the juster apportionment of incomes, which makes a part of the plan.

The principal improvement is the abolition of Church rates, reckoned at 70,000*l.*, together with the First Fruits, and the substitution of a graduated tax on benefices and bishoprics according to this scale:—

"Benefices of from 200*l.* to 500*l.* a-year to take "five per cent.; from benefices of from 500*l.* to "800*l.* a-year to take seven per cent; from bene- "fices of from 800*l.* to 1200*l.* a-year to take ten "per cent.; and from all benefices of above 1200*l.* "a-year to take fifteen per cent.; the incomes of "deans, chapters, and prebendaries to be subject to "the same rule."

In accordance with our general scheme of taxa-

tion, Lord Althorp takes care to spare the rich, and observes:—

"It must be evident to the House, that if the "same ratio were observed in the case of Bishops, "it would be an exceedingly unfair proceeding. "The necessary expenses of a Bishop are much "greater in proportion than those of the inferior "clergy, and it would, therefore, be most unfair to "deduct from their incomes upon a scale the lowest "amount of which would be fifteen per cent., and "which would ascend to an enormous amount. We "propose, therefore, a separate scale of deduction "as applicable to the Bishops in Ireland. We "propose to take from all bishoprics below "4000*l.* a-year in value, five per cent.; from all "bishoprics below 6,000*l.* a-year in value, seven "per cent.; from all bishoprics below 10,000*l.* a-"year in value, ten per cent.; and from all bishop-"rics above 10,000*l.* a-year in value, fifteen per "cent."

That is to say, a benefice above 200*l.* is taxed at the same rate with a bishopric under 4,000*l.*; a benefice above 500*l.* at the same rate with a bishopric below 6,000*l.*, and so on. In this arrangement Lord Althorp allows for the sumptuous state of Bishops, which he calls necessary. Two questions arise here, one, if the state be necessary; and the other, whether, if necessary, it is generally kept up. We believe that in most cases the Bishops dispense with state, in order to lay up handsome

provisions, which may enable their children to keep the places they have obtained in aristocratic station. As for the necessity for episcopal state, there is less to be said for it than for state in any other office of authority. It is pretended (most libellously on the advanced intelligence of the many) that the pageantry of the Crown supports its dignity in the eyes of the people; it is pretended that the parade of the Judges maintains the respect for their authority with the mob; but upon whom is the state of the Bishop to have salutary effect? The reverence of the mass of the people for the Church must be kept up or broken down by the working clergy; thousands and tens of thousands never see a Bishop, or, if they do, only criticise his wig, and begin to make comparisons between his style of life and that of the Apostles, and to quote the parable of Lazarus and Dives, and wonder why the liveries are of the *purple*, and the episcopal sleeves of the *fine linen*, so often denounced. The state of the Bishops, then, can only operate upon their clergy; and are the minds of educated men of their serious calling supposed to be moved to respect by a show of gauds and vanities? Is it thought necessary to impress them with reverence by these vulgar means, which have lost much of their force with the very humblest orders of society?

Lord Grey has placed himself in this unhappy predicament—that every argument by which he endeavours to recommend the Irish Church Bill to the Lords, exposes the deficiencies of the measure to the people. For example, he states that in England, for eight millions in communion with the Established Church, we have twenty-six Bishops; while in Ireland, to a Protestant population of about one million, there are twenty-two Bishops. His Lordship then observes—

"I never heard it for a moment insinuated that "the duties of the Bishops in England were not "well and effectively discharged. By the new "arrangement which we have proposed, it will "happen that only 83,000 persons will in Ireland "be confided to the care of one Bishop, which will "not be equal to one-fourth of the number given "in charge to an English Bishop. There have "not been wanting those who contended that the "whole number of the Bishops now placed over "sees in Ireland were absolutely necessary to the "security and the well-being of the Church in "that country. To any mind not biassed by very "strong feeling upon the subject, that must "appear the most preposterous argument that ever "was uttered. What would their Lordships say "to this startling fact, that, in order to place under "the care of an Irish Bishop an equal number "with those on an average under the care of the "English Bishops, you must reduce the numbers

" of the Irish Bishops to four? I believe, that if " they were actually reduced to four, the numbers " of the members of the Church Establishment " confided to their care would, upon an average, " be even still smaller."

The conclusion to which this course of argument should lead is sufficiently plain; but Lord Grey suddenly stops, and sets himself against the effect of his own reasoning; thus—

" Am I, therefore, to be understood as the advo- " cate of that further reduction? On the contrary, " I would recommend that the number of Irish " Bishops should still remain considerable; and I " regard it as large indeed, when fixed at the " number appointed by the Bill."

He proves that four Bishops would be amply sufficient, and he fixes the number at twelve! In this measure of Reform, by the Minister's own showing, the Bishops are *only* three times as many as are necessary! After the exposition we have quoted, what argument, what pretences could Lord Grey oppose to an amendment that the Irish Bishops should be reduced to four?

So far as the Catholic population of Ireland is concerned, it matters not a rush whether the Bishops in this Bill be reduced to twelve or increased to a hundred. The quarrel of the Catholic is with the burden; and while that remains unabated, he cares not for the altered distribution of the extorted revenues; for he cannot, by the

wildest imagination, be supposed to have any interest in Lord Grey's professed object of strengthening and securing the Protestant Church. We again ask, does a plundered man concern himself in the equitable division of the booty among the robbers? Does he rejoice to hear that the captain's share is to be reduced, and a more encouraging distribution made among the troop. No; if he interests himself about the affair at all, the arrangement which is worst for the gang is most satisfactory to him. He is content that they should have causes of discontent, about which they may quarrel and cut each other's throats.

If every twenty useless Irish parsons were rolled into one useless Bishop, what would be the effect to the Catholic? Simply, that in place of twenty signs of grievance and extortion meeting his eyes at every turn, there would be one, and that a goodly one, hid in a palace or removed out of sight to a mansion in Grosvenor square

Consistently with the principle, that the revenues of the Irish Church, for which no service is performed, should remain unabated, the best arrangement for the pride and peace of Catholic Ireland would be to give them all to one Bishop. The toad under the harrow, who complained of over-many masters, when every tooth gave him a tug, would gladly have compounded for a single ploughshare. Acting on the opposite plan, the boy in Æsop broke the looking-glass that showed

him his deformity, and saw the displeasing image multiplied a hundredfold in the fragments.

With respect to the Commission having the discretionary power of suspending the appointment of clergymen to livings in which no service has been performed for the last three years, the obvious objection was, that if it be composed of Churchmen, or of officers interested in Church patronage, pretences will never be wanting for continuing the sinecure livings. Upon this part of the proposed arrangement Lord Grey was at pains to show that the three Commissioners appointed by the Crown would *not* necessarily be laymen, though it obviously should have been enacted that at least half of the Board should be laymen, and uninterested in Church patronage.

"I have heard many complaints against the "constitution of the Board of Commissioners, and "among other things, it has been said that there is "a majority of laymen. Now, who are the Com- "missioners? The Primate of Ireland, the Lord "Chancellor of Ireland, the Lord Chief Justice, "the Archbishop of Dublin, four Bishops, and "three persons to be appointed by the Crown. "Even these three persons are not necessarily to "be laymen."

Imagine a Board composed of the Primate of Ireland, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Chief Justice, the Archbishop of Dublin, and four Bishops, with three other Commissioners named by

the Crown, and who need *not* be laymen, deciding on the expediency of suspending or continuing livings in which no service has been performed. Can mortal dupe doubt the result? Is there a credulity on earth which can believe in the impartial judgment of such a commission? Conceive a Plunkett sitting in judgment on the living of a Plunkett, and say—shall we conceive a Brutus?

Though the pending Bill in itself is of no concern to us, it is highly curious to observe the arguments put forth both in advocacy and in opposition to it.

In the debate in the House of Lords, Bishop Philpotts showed himself worthy of his name. What was there he would not have filled with the copiousness of his speech? He filled the House of Lords, he filled the newspapers, and will fill more than we care to mention. As we speak of a philippick, so we should speak of a Philpott—that is, with regard to the end of the invective. But happier than Demosthenes, the name of Philpotts cannot be pronounced without commemorating both the destination and the source of his speeches. As in the Indian type of eternity, we see the snake with his tail in his mouth. Would we had many such Bishops—would that our quiver were full of them—so out spoken—so out-and-out spoken!—as none but himself can be his parallel, we would say, so Philpottish.

How affecting was his allusion to the Irish

clergy, "without a home to cover them," airy nothings, without a local habitation. The Bishop's palace is doubtless already full of as many as it can contain of these homeless brethren, whom the dignified teacher of charity has invited to shelter under his roof; and for those he cannot entertain, the outsiders, "without a home to cover them," he sends five yards (newspaper measure) of oratory for comfort and clothing.

"More Bishops" is the cry of our spiritual Obadiah. He says,—

"A Noble Lord in another place had expressed "his determination to remove the scandal from the "Established Church in Ireland of having too "many Bishops and Sees too small. If that "Noble Lord had opened the New Testament, he "might have seen that in the early days of the "Christian Church the number of Bishops bore a "much larger proportion to the number of the "parochial clergy than, according to the estimate "of modern reformers, was deemed necessary."

Yes; but what are the Bishops like in the New Testament? When we open the New Testament to see the manner of Bishops, we open at Timothy, where we see it censured that some have turned from charity unto "vain jangling;" and laid down that a Bishop shall be of "good behaviour, given to hospitality, and apt to teach,"— "no striker, not greedy of filty lucre, but patient; not a brawler, not covetous." And in the same

New Testament in which Bishop Philpotts most properly intimates that we should look for the right ordering of Bishops, St Paul presents his own example:—"Neither did we eat any man's bread "for nought; but wrought with labour and travail "night and day, that we might not be chargeable "to any of you: not because we have not power, "but *to make ourselves an ensample* unto you to "follow us."

The Bishops of modern times have "changed all that," and are first in the race for Mammon, crying, as they run like antelopes, "the devil take the hindmost."

Doctor Paris somewhere observes that the originals of the cabbage and cauliflower are not to be recognized in uncultivated nature. A Bishop of the present age has no more likeness to a Bishop of the New Testament and the Primitive Church, than a cauliflower or a red cabbage is like any spontaneous production of the field. It has taken 1800 years to bring Bishops to their present figure. The horticulturists can show nothing like it in the aggrandisement of gooseberries. The cultivation is simple enough too—hot-housing and the manure of Mammon.

Still crying "more Bishops," his Lordship of Exeter remarked:—

"The Noble Earl seemed to say that he had "never heard that complaints were made that the "number of Bishops in England was too small.

" Those most conversant with matters of the kind " could give testimony directly the reverse; for " his part he had often both heard and read com- " plaints that the number of English Bishops was " too small."

Doubtless Bishop Philpotts would have all the clergy Bishops, provided there were riches for every See; but if the whole revenues were thrown together, and the question raised among how many they should be shared, what then would be our Right Reverend Father's opinion? Like a Prussian Monarch, he would have an army of grenadiers, but he forgets a law of nature which forbids the abundance of large bodies in a little world. In the Primitive Church Bishops in their lean estate might be numerous, but as they aggrandized in revenues, they of necessity fell off in number. We see flocks of sparrows, but not flocks of vultures. The creatures which require large supplies require large dioceses to themselves, unshared by others of their kind, and nature regulates their numbers for this economy. Cormorants don't flock like starlings.

As we have already remarked, in the case of a superfluous or sinecure clergy imposed on a people of another faith, we are not hostile to Bishops. How do we proceed when we have a quantity of litter about us? we roll it up in a ball for the more convenient disposal of it, and we should be well content to roll all the sinecure clergy of Ireland into

one thumping Bishop, who should live between Dublin and Grosvenor square, and men should call him Philpotts.

The Bishop of Exeter vehemently complains, that in the pending Bill it is proposed to make Bishops serve without their consent:—

"This was the first instance ever put before "mankind, in which any human power dared to do "what this Bill professed,—viz. to make a man to "be a Bishop by its sole act and deed, whether that "man did or did not accept the charge. Their "Lordships had neither the right nor the power "to do what this Bill said should be done—viz. to "force the Bishop of A to be Bishop of B also, "whether he would or not."

This is nothing more than impressment, against which practice the Bishops have never, that we remember, raised their meek voices. When a poor fellow in a blue jacket complains of having been knocked down, deprived of his liberty, and thrust on board a King's ship, he is told that the glory of serving his King and country should reconcile him to the little hardships of a forced service. The Bishops, who, to the glory of serving their King and country add the glory of serving God, will surely not grumble at a compulsion so much milder in its mode. They are not to be knocked down; they are not to be made to serve for less pay than they could earn if left free; they are not to be separated from their friends for an

indefinite period; their Sees will not be so stormy and perilous as the sailors' seas. Surely the pious Bishops will do for the love of Heaven what every blue jacket must do for the honour of arms. The impressment of divines has always been a favourite project of ours; and if, after the reduction of Bishoprics to 4000*l.* a-year, qualified persons cannot, as the Archbishop of Canterbury alleges, be tempted to take holy orders, here is a mode of manning the Church. Press-gangs must be employed at Oxford and Cambridge to knock down able-bodied divines, and force them to serve in pulpits, on pain of death for desertion, or of flogging for neglect of duty. It is hard indeed if we cannot get for Heaven what is got for war.

Our Right Reverend Father of Exeter is mightily anxious for the conversion of the Catholics. Shall we confide to him an infallible recipe? Let the Protestant Church make over its revenues to the Catholic priests, and see how they will extinguish the zeal of the Priesthood, and destroy their efficiency and influence over their flocks. This is the way to turn the shepherd into the wolf.

A FRAGMENT FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF JUDAS.

4. And in the letter which Judas wrote to Simon Magus it was written:

5. Know ye, that riches are the root of all evil, and that it is easier for the camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Heaven.

6. Therefore, my brethren, seeing ye be given to the saving of souls, and sparing not yourselves, that others might be saved, take from every man his money according to the dues ye can ask, or according to the dues ye can devise.

7. And ye shall make the rich less rich, and ye shall make the poor more poor, for it is written, Blessed are the poor, and ye shall make the blessed in making the poor.

8. And every shekel of gold, and every shekel of silver that ye take, shall be as the breadth of a span to the gates of Heaven, or as the wasting of the camel which cannot for its greatness pass through the needle's eye to salvation.

9. Riches, my brethren, are as poison to the soul.

10. Having a brother smote with a dart steeped in poison, what would ye do?

11. Would ye see him die of the poison that is in the wound, or would ye put your lips to the wound and suck the poison thereof, so that he live and perish not?

12. He that hath riches in his store hath poison in his soul, which swelleth it up as a camel to the needle's eye of salvation; and he that cometh to heal sucks the riches out of the store, and the poison out of the soul, and it goeth into his own mouth.

13. Verily, I say unto you, all the riches you take to yourselves from the people are as bane taken from them it would destroy.

14. Be not mindful of yourselves where the kingdom of heaven is concerned, for it is yours to put others in the path, as the sign on the road showeth the way but doth not itself travel in it, but standeth as a token to them that may come. Do thy ministering without fear, for it is for others ye must travail.

15. He that sucketh the wound feareth not the poison.

16. It is yours to save souls; heed not the thing that is of danger to your own.

17. It is better that one perish that many may be saved.

18. The soldier fighteth in the battle, that some may sit in the shadow of peace and fear not.

19. The soldier dieth that some may live for whom he goeth out to battle.

20. So be it with you. Be ye as soldiers perishing for the salvation of the people. So sucking the poison of riches, ye shall not fear to be swoln as the camel that passeth not the needle's eye to salvation.

21. It is written, Man cannot serve God and Mammon; take from them therefore their mammon, that they may be saved, and lock up the worship thereof in your own breasts.

22. And be ye signs of the evil of riches, and set forth in your living the abomination thereof, so that men may say, See how these things canker the heart!

23. Be ye covetous and grasping, and full of strife, as the fig is full of seeds.

24. Be ye apt to contention for your share of every man's goods, and have the law of man, and not the law of God, ever in your mouths.

25. Raise the wail and the lamentation where ye lift the heel, that the word may be fulfilled, that this world is a valley of tears, and sorrow the lot of man that is born of woman.

26. Gripe ye the poor, for their reward is in Heaven; and according to the trouble below is the mercy above, and so ye trouble them exceeding much.

27. Of them that have little take ye that which ye can to make less, and cause a nakedness which

may glide though a needle's eye; for blessed are the poor because they are poor, and the more they be poor the more they be blessed; so take heed and watch and gripe for the blessing of them.

28. My brethren, live the best ye can in respect of all worldly things. Let each strive for chariots, and horses, and palaces, and costly fare, and serving women, and serving men, and purple and fine linen.

29. For so it shall be seen that riches are the root of all evil, and ye shall set forth the truth of the gospel in your vain lives.

30. Be puffed up with pride, so that men may see the vanity and foolishness of the heart when the hand craves abundance of the goods of this earth.

31. So shall ye serve for beacons to warn the people from the place of evil upon which ye stand. Yea, as a certain people did fill their bondsmen with drink to set forth the abomination of drunkenness, so do ye fill your souls with the lucre of gain to set forth the filthiness of Mammon.

32. Bishops, sit ye in the high places among scribes and pharisees, and make men call you Lord, and Grace, so filling their mouths with foolishness, because ye have your purses filled with riches.

33. Clothe your servants in purple, and yourselves in fine linen, because the scriptures, in sundry places, hold forth against the delights in

purple and fine linen; and therefore show ye that when riches enter the purse they canker the soul and make the high priests deny the gospel in their lives, and say, "Aha! the gospel sayeth that purple and fine linen is bad, but we find it exceeding good, and with the one we will clothe ourselves, and with the other we will clothe our serving men."

34. Claim a part in all things, and if ye be not the shepherd, yet hold to the fleece; and if ye tend not with the crook, yet clip with the shears.

35. And for your dog, let it be the hound of law, which set at the flock if they give not what you ask, so that they be vexed and worried; for then will the flock curse the covetousness that comes of mammon-seeking, and see verily that the love of lucre is the root of all evil.

36. If ye say to a certain man, this, being a portion of his goods, is ours, and he say, Nay, it is not, ye shall sue him, and vex him, and waste him away in the suit, so that he be made one of the the poor, and blessed accordingly.

37. If ye ask for the coat, and the man deny it, saying, What shall I have to fence me from the cold? ye shall sue him for his cloak also; for it is written, naked he came into the world and naked shall he go out of it, so strip ye all ye can.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

[For the first year after the passing of the Reform Bill the Lords seemed stunned by their defeat, but in the summer of this year it was evident that they had rallied, and were again about to try their strength against the popular cause. They commenced the series of offensive operations, which have been carried on up to the present time, with a motion for an address to his Majesty, praying him to preserve the neutrality between the contending parties in Portugal, which of course impugned the conduct of the Grey Ministry, and was tantamount to a vote of censure. It passed by a majority of 12.]

Responsibility is the essence of constitutional government. The Ministers are responsible for the King, the Commons to the people; the Lords are responsible neither to the King, whose prerogative is the source of their authority, nor to the people, who are submitted to their authority. The authority of Peers is the only authority in the State which cannot be revoked if abused. The King can make, but not unmake, and the privileges which descend by birth cannot be taken

away, except by death. A man who finds himself possessed of power, for the uses of which he is not accountable, while he sees responsibility attached to all the other authorities around him, may easily come to the conclusion that the power, for which he is responsible to no one, is to be exercised for his own particular benefit, and without regard to the interests or the opinions of others. It seems given to him for the exclusive care of himself, as neither King nor people can call him to account for misconduct. The perpetual solicitation of an irresponsible power is, *abuse me;* and its natural tendency is to the narrowest selfishness and wilfulness, two qualities which are consequently seen extraordinarily developed in the House of Mischief.

The only hold upon the House is the power of creation in the Crown; but this can hardly be said to produce a responsibility, as the power abused is still continued to the individual, and the worthy and unworthy are equally affected by the discredit brought on the House collectively by the Royal appointment of a majority. The more extensive the factious corruption and misconduct of the House, the more injurious to the institution is a creation; and the Lords have thus the encouragement of knowing that the wider their confederacy against good government, the more unwieldy and difficult is the remedy. There is no other institution the errors and vices of which can only be conquered through a damage to the institution

itself. In other instances, the peccant members are liable to removal; in this they remain fixed, after signalising their unfitness for their authority. The irresponsible power is of course irrevocable.

Canning saw the true bearing of Reform when he argued that the consequence must be fatal to the House of Peers. One branch of the Legislature must be dominant. Through rotten boroughs the Lords obtained an ascendancy in the Commons; deprived of those foul advantages, their House must take its turn of depression. By nomination it ruled the Commons, by the nomination of the Crown it will itself in turn be ruled. To this conclusion it was from the first certain that things must come at last. To the independence of the House of Peers the corruption of the House of Commons was essential, and the two things abate in precisely the same proportions. So let it be. The arrogance which unfits the House for legislation—an arrogance inherent in its constitution—is working out its own punishment.

We were among the first advocates of a creation of Peers; not as a measure saving the credit of the House, for we have always admitted that a creation, raising a majority by Royal levy, would, in the most striking manner, prove this branch of the Legislature to be but an extreme arm of the power of the Crown, and divest it of all public respect, but we have advocated a creation for the avoidance of real or pretended obstacles to the

course of improvement. We knew that while the House of Lords remained what it is, Government would have a cause or an excuse for holding back and temporizing, pleading "I dare not" against "I would;" losing time, opportunity, and wearing out the temper and patience of the people. All this has been done. The Grey Ministry have taken full credit for good intentions, together with the benefit of present abuses. Meanwhile the Reformed House has been seriously damaged in repute by acts of omission and acts of commission intended to propitiate the Lords, who have probably seen in this effect a favourable opportunity for striking a blow, and accordingly dared a collision when the other House has, from a system of deference to the hostility of the Peers, alienated a great portion of the popular support which would otherwise have belonged to it. The Commons, as dragged through the dirt by the Ministry in the hope of winning the Peers, will certainly not be seconded, in a contest with the Peers, with the public confidence and affection, which a bolder and honester policy would have commanded.

When Lord Grey undertook Parliamentary Reform, he ought to have undertaken it with all its consequences. A clear-sighted statesman could not fail to perceive that an abridgment of the power of the Lords was necessarily involved in any extension of the rights of the people, and that means of good government could not be given

without damaging the old instrument of misrule. Precisely in proportion to the value of Reform was the width of the schism between the House of Peers and the House of Commons. "The Peers had not trafficked in the corruption of the Commons for the pure love of corruption; the system of public pillage which grew up under their influence shows the use they made of their Parliamentary proprietorship. Though for the most part cut off from continuing this trade, it could not be supposed that they would quietly surrender the benefits accruing to them from what had been established in it, and their obstinate defence of existing abuses, in all of which they are more or less concerned, was reasonably to be expected. The House of Lords may be looked upon as the receiving house of all misappropriations; whatever is stolen from the people is there banked for the common advantage of the gang. It is a Peachum's lock conservative of dishonest acquisitions. Of course it must be stoutly opposed to every intrusion of justice.

It fought against the constable in its battle with the Reform Bill. The hostility of the Lords was not confined to the present operation of the measure; they resisted it as leading to other objects, in which they had their sinister interest. It was not merely that the constable was tying their hands up, but afterwards he would search the house, and restitution of many precious things would be the

consequence. Lord Grey has acted as if he had overlooked all these dispositions in the Peers—as if, after he had broken up their usurpation in the Commons' House, they would have no motive but to do the best for their safety and respectability as a legislative body. He has treated them as if they had no peculiar interest in the abuses of Church and State, which are sure to place them in conflict with the public. Had he taken a juster view of the character and circumstances of the House of Peers, he would have altered its composition even before he altered the constitution of the Commons. From the moment that Reform was determined on, the submission or coercion of the Lords was an inevitable consequence. The conditions of these men do not permit of their learning to submit; and with the least amount of pain and mortification, the measures for the other branch of the alternative might have been promptly and forwardly taken. A creation for so obvious a purpose would have blotted out the independence of the House, but its independence was doomed from the hour that the Commons was rested on a more popular basis. The improvement of the Commons is small; but, small as it is, it gives a *momentum*, against which the Lords cannot bear up.

We have repeatedly declared our opinion that, in passing the Reform Bill without a creation, Lord Grey only laid up difficulties for future embarrassment. The dread of the Lords was more

of what the Reform would lead to, than of what it would do in respect of restraining the influences. Abuse had been carried to its acme. In malversation nothing more could have been done. The Conservative policy was to hold things as they were. The reforms which public opinion must compel of a Reformed Parliament, as ends of the means, could not allow of this stand, and it was certain that the Peers would more obstinately contest particular reforms in establishments than the governing reform itself. The apprehension of their hostility, as admitted by Lord John Russell, could not but have the effect of causing measures of improvement to be pared down to such slenderness and insufficiency as to disappoint and dissatisfy the people, and yet in this meagre state they would not procure the acceptance of the Lords. The Irish Church Bill, for example, purporting to be a reform, will leave the most monstrous abuse in the empire, but nevertheless, mockery of improvement as it is, the Lords were resolved to throw it out. The very nail-pairing of Mammon is a derogation from abuse which they will not endure. How was it possible for the cause of improvement to be pursued with such a body in the way?

It is time that the country should come to a judgment as to the utility of the House of Lords. It is idle to rail and rave at its particular votes. If it be worthy of power, it must be allowed to exer-

cise its authority undisturbed by clamour. If its decisions are to be made matter of crimination whenever they differ from the Ministerial policy and the popular sentiment, then the institution of which a slavish subserviency is required may better be dispensed with than continued for a forced and hollow assent. The House of Lords can only be desirable as an instrument of good government. If it appear obstinately opposed to good government, if it work against its object, it must be withdrawn from the Constitution, to whose purposes it has ceased to serve. The time for railing against this body has passed. The people have now sufficient evidence of its character, and it becomes their intelligence not to scold but to judge. If the institution be useful and trustworthy, leave it free to work according to its discretion; if it be antagonist to the public interest, depose it. A creation is a mode of subjugation, but the false pretence of an independent Legislature in a ministerially-packed House is very objectionable. It were better to have a creation than the tyranny of the Lords; but it were more worthy of the nation to abolish the institution altogether than to permit a subservient and passive assembly to discharge the high functions of an independent branch of the Legislature. These deceits are always adverse to the public interests and the public morals. If the thing be bad, there is no good in the pretence of it.

SHORT PARLIAMENTS.

ALL the objections to short Parliaments turn upon the position that the people should not be represented, as all the objections to the Ballot turn upon the position that the electors should not elect.

Lord John Russell declares his conviction that annual Parliaments—

"Could not co-exist with the Monarchy, and "holding that annual Parliaments could only pre- "vail in a republic, he should resist to the utmost "any attempt to introduce them. * * * It "was the result of many years' consideration of "the subject, and on this opinion, from which he "had never varied, that the alteration to triennial "Parliaments would be the total destruction of our "mixed Constitution."

If increasing the influence of the people would destroy the Monarchy, it necessarily follows that the people are hostile to the Monarchy, or that the existence of the one is antagonist to the interests of the other. If, as Lord John Russell argues, the two things cannot co-exist, let us come to a decision as to which is the more valuable, and, adhering to it, compound for all consequences. In

order to negative perfect representation, it is not enough to show that it will damage Monarchy,—it must be shown that Monarchy is more advantageous to the people than perfect representation. When Lord John Russell tells us that the perfection of one institution is the destruction of another, he invites inquiry into the reasons of the antagonism, and the comparative value of the two, upon which a choice of one, at all peril to the other, must be made. No opponent of short Parliaments pretends to say that they will not render the Commons' House more strictly representative of the people, but it is insinuated that power, exercised in the immediate direction of the people's interests, or their opinion of their interests, would fatally clash with the power of the Monarchy. The objectors must argue, either that representation is not conducive to good government, or that, being conducive to good government, it is hostile to Monarchy.

The Ministerial opponents of short Parliaments should frankly declare that according to the deviation of the representative from the opinions of his constituency is the virtue of Parliament, for to that their arguments tend. There is of necessity more excitement in an election after a long term and for a long term, than there would be were the period of the trust shorter. According to the degree of this excitement will be the extravagance of the candidate's professions. In short Parlia-

ments Members would be bound by a near responsibility to act in accordance with their professions, and the general effect would be to make them, for the fulfilment of expectations, more circumspect and moderate in their professions.

No one is so childish as to suppose that the people, capable of choosing wisely every seven years, would be incapable of choosing wisely every three years, or every year. The judgment is the same, or it would be more soberly exercised when frequency abated excitement. But the true apprehension, stripped of all disguise, is that short Parliaments would, by strengthening the responsibility, realize the representation, and compel the action of Members in the line of duty. For election to short Parliaments we should hear less or nothing of pledges, but performance would be improved by immediate accountability. There would be less motive for promises, and more fear of judgment. Mr Hawkins truly observes, that pledges would cease to be exacted were the term of trust shortened. The present Parliament is a signal example of the fallacy of pledges, and those who have depended on such treacherous engagements have leant on the reed which has pierced their sides.

Ministers pretend to say that the people have sufficient influence in the existing representative system; but are Ministers competent to decide upon the befitting degree of influence? Can such a discretion be intrusted to those who are to be

controlled in power by the very influence they would presume to circumscribe? The right of the people is to a fair and full representation, and short of that end they are not to be estopped by a pretence that their influence is sufficient. The people would have influence without any representation, and the creatures of despotism would call it enough, whatever might be the degree of it. The people of the most absolute Governments have never been without influence. Our demand is for fair and full representation, with whatever amount of influence is necessary to that effect.

Lord Althorp voted against shortening the duration of Parliaments, he having, when out of office, supported a motion to that effect. With his admirable logic he explained:—

"He thought then, and he thought still, that the "proper constitution of that House required that "it should truly represent the feelings of its con-"stituents; and when the circumstances of the "House were such that a large proportion of the "Members represented only themselves, it was "proper that, by the shortened duration of Parlia-"ment, the constituency should exercise a greater "influence over them than they then did."

He does not mean to say (as he appears to do) that the Members representing themselves should be influenced by their constituents, but that the part of the House which was not self-elected should be more strongly influenced, as a counterpoise to

the others. He will not, however, assert that the influence he desired to be exercised over Members formerly was an influence exceeding the object of a fair representation, and the same means for a fair representation are now demanded by the people, and refused by this consistent nobleman. Mr Stanley, indeed, contends that the people do not desire short Parliaments, and observes that the paucity of petitions proves the unconcern of the public. The Tom Thumb the Great of the Ministry holds annual Parliaments bad, because they would make the opinion of the many the law of Parliament; and in the same breath he observes, in objection to the motion for them, that it is not supported by the petitions of the multitude. Is it the vixen tongue of this young gentleman which serves to protect his glaring inconsistencies from exposure?

THE KING, THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD, AND LORD GREY.

THE *Times* has the following statement, which may be received as from authority:—

"Few acts of the Ministry have been attacked "with greater acrimony than the ecclesiastical

" patronage lately bestowed on Lord Grey's " brother, the Bishop of Hereford; yet the plain " facts of the case, which would appear not to be " generally known, or to have been studiously kept " out of sight, do, in reality, constitute a sufficient " answer to those attacks. The following brief " epitome of them may be relied on. When the " Ministry was out, in May 1832, the Bishopric of " Hereford being then vacant, the King desired, as " a mark of his personal regard, that the present " Bishop should have it. Aware that with the " deanery which the Bishop then held, the living " of Bishopsgate gave him a positive income much " better than that of the see of Hereford, the " *King desired also that he should continue to hold* " *the living in commendam,* as the Bishop of Lon- " don had done when Bishop of Chester. *This* " *Lord Grey declined, thinking the union of a* " *parish with a cure of souls with a Bishopric* " *improper;* but expressed a hope that he might " at some future opportunity have a stall at his dis- " posal, to place the Bishop of Hereford on a " footing with other Bishops, which the King pro- " mised. After the restoration of the Ministry, a " stall became vacant at St Paul's, to which, under " all the circumstances of the time and his own " peculiar claims, Lord Grey thought it right to " appoint Mr Tate. On the late vacancy at West- " minster, however, Lord Grey thought himself " bound not to pass over the Bishop of Hereford,

" a second time, and with this appointment added " to his See, his income will not exceed 3,500*l.* per " annum."

We here learn that the King desired the Bishop to hold *in commendam* the living of Bishopsgate, but Lord Grey declined, thinking the union of a parish with a cure of souls with a Bishopric improper. What a good King to wish the Bishop to hold the living without doing the duty, and what a good Lord Grey to think the union of a parish with a cure of souls with a Bishopric improper! The King only forgot that the parish had a people, and they had paid a large sum for the spiritual services of the Rector of which his Majesty proposed to deprive them. But the King thought of the Minister's brother and not of the people, who, from their littleness, are very apt to slip out of Royal memories.

Bentham remarks that the consequence of giving excessive salaries is, that it can never appear whether the office is sought or the pay.

" Neither Chartres nor the Duke of Wharton, " it is true, could have had any rational objection " to a Bishopric, though it were as barren as an " apostleship: but neither the Colonel nor the " Duke would have cared much for the lawn " sleeves, if the drudgery of examinations and " visitations had stuck to them, instead of being " shaken off upon the Chaplain and the Archdeacon. " From seeing a man take a Bishopric like that

" of Durham, for instance, you cannot, I allow, " form any kind of judgment whether he is fond " of preaching or no, or whether he ever made a " sermon in his life. All you can tell is, that he is " fond of sitting with Lords, and eating 14,000*l.* " a-year. But could you be under the like uncer- " tainty with regard to such a man as Zinzendorf, " for example, who, being a rich man and a Count, " chose, for the sake of apostleship, to become a " poor man, and predecessor without a title to the " now Bishops of the Moravians?"

Now, in this case of the Bishopric of Hereford, we are fortunately able to see which of the two things it is that the man covets, or is supposed to covet, by those who best know the desires of his heart, and are most anxious to gratify them.

Doctor Grey had what in the profane tongue is called "a fat living," and deeply he had cut into the fat, and loudly had the parishioners roared. The King had a lean Bishopric to give away. His Majesty knew his man—he knew that the desires of the Bishop were not set mainly on the episcopal functions, or the episcopal dignity; he knew that there was something more precious to which the mitre was but a sign, and therefore, when proposing to prefer the Doctor to the See, to make it acceptable, he desired the union of the rich Bishopsgate with the poor Bishopric,—fat and lean together. Lord Grey says " Fie! The Parish-

ioners! Cure of Souls. Scandal." But he does not say:—

"Your most gracious Majesty remembers that "my brother is an expounder of that book "which teaches that riches are the root of all "evil, and reproves covetousness and Mammon-"seeking. If your Majesty deems him "worthy of this Bishopric, he will think the "Bishopric more than worthy of him. If "your Majesty is pleased that he should per-"form the holy offices of the See, the exalted "service will make glad the labour. It is less "rich than the living, but it becomes not my "brother to make it seem that money is the "great object of the ministry—the ministry "in which he is engaged has other rewards, "which lie where the moth cannot destroy, "or the thief come in and steal. Let it be "seen that a Churchman can take a step in "advancement without stepping into more "gold. Let it be seen that the rounds of the "divine ladder are not climbed for pelf, and "that Mammon is not at the top of all endea-"vour. Let it be seen that the word Bishop, "being rendered into the mother tongue, does "not signify *more money*. Let it be seen that "a follower of Christ, in entering on the "office of imposing the hands, may put the "purse out of them."

This Lord Grey did not say, or any thing like it; but, on the contrary—"Promote my brother to the "Bishopric, and let him hope for a stall to make it "good, to make it acceptable, to compensate for "the loss of Bishopsgate and the fatness thereof."

Now in what other profession is there such devotion to pelf as in this—the profession of the religion which so strongly condemns pelf? In the army there are several steps of promotion which actually diminish emoluments. A Lieutenant-Colonel in command is better paid than a General on half pay; but the Lieutenant-Colonel is content to take the rank, and for its honour to relinquish the better pay. There are Governorships, too, which cannot be held by Generals of the higher rank; and men take the promotion, and for it forego the state and emoluments of the commands without a murmur. So it is not with the State soldiers of Christ, who must have pelf for every step of promotion and accession of dignity.

In the profession of the Law, too, the practice at the Bar is, in most cases, more lucrative than the Judgeship, to which a successful advocate is raised; but the honour is reckoned more than equivalent to the difference in income. Not so in the Church. All there is weighed in hard money. Honour is not received as an equivalent; on the contrary, more pay is required for the support of it. A General Officer may live in a garret without losing respect; a Judge may inhabit a nut-shell in

Bloomsbury, and drive to Court in his cabriolet; but the dignity of a Bishop cannot be without a palace, and carriages and horses, and servants in purple, and himself in fine linen.

There was the sad case of the Bishop of Hereford, passing poor with something more than two thousand pounds a-year—that is, not having more than should suffice for the wishes of any reasonable man. What a case of distress! How could he support his dignity? While in this pickle—while waiting for the promised stall (a stall not of the stable in which Jesus lay), he must have been without a dignity! He had cauliflower wig, apron, shovel hat, purple and fine linen, but not a dignity, for he had not money enough to keep it up, and therefore was the stall promised him. But at last the stall was given, and then the dignity was set up. Now, the Bishop was the same man before and after he was stalled, and we should like to know in what the maintenance of the dignity appeared? Was the dignity incarnated in two new footmen, with floured heads, purple liveries, and copper-headed canes? or in a pair of sleek and prancing coach-horses? or was it built and painted blue in Longacre? or worked into tureens and butter-boats at Rundell's? or made into chairs, tables, carpets, and hangings, at the upholsterer's? We wish to know the manifestation of the thing. Bel's divinity was manifested by eating much meat. Dignity is a great consumer—requires a

vast deal for its keep; but *of what* is our question? It is easily answered. The Bishop of Hereford has only to say what he has had since his stall which he had not before he held his stall, and we know in what his dignity consists to a tittle. Has he new-furnished his palace? why, then, it is in upholstery. Has he bought plate? it is in spoons and forks. Has he engaged more servants? it is in John Dobson and Thomas Stokes. We have here the easiest possible case for the detection of a dignity. The Bishop could not maintain it upon the revenues of the See, and the addition of the stall enabled him to support it; therefore the answer to the question—How do you expend the emoluments of the stall?—gives the dignity.

The episcopal office is the last for which the necessity of show can be argued, as the state of the Bishop is withdrawn from the gaze of the many, and chiefly seen by the Clergy whom he superintends, and who should not be supposed to need gauds—the pomps and vanities of this wicked world—to impress them with respect for their spiritual superior.

LORD DURHAM.

THE opinion we had conceived of the sound principles and high purposes of Lord Durham is confirmed by his speech at Gateshead. In this speech we have evidence that Lord Durham is a man above party views, party influence, and party sympathies. He looks to the rights and interests of the people, and states them at the full. With statesman-like comprehension he sees *what must be*, and *how it can best be*; he knows with what he has got to do, and what to do with it. He sees the element which is rising into might, and that the only safety is in floating on it; while others, the fools of custom, would be whetting the scythes or yoking the war-horses of the chariots of Pharaoh. While such a political sciolist as Mr Stanley is like the antic on a chimney-top fighting against the wind, Lord Durham is like the mariner who makes the gale the moving power of his vessel, and guides it through its troubled way by the very power he has borrowed from the storm.

Lord Durham is not one of those statesmen with one foot on sea and one on land; he is not one of those wavering beings who shuffle and juggle between two conflicting principles, giving power to

one, and struggling for the safety of the other. The avowed author of the first Reform Bill, he does not contend for the *finality* of the measure in force. He regards it, and justly, as a great first step, but still as a *first* step, and he declares its imperfections, and advises the people to bestir themselves for the improvement of the measure.

For the first Reform Bill, the work of his own hands, he does not claim that character of perfection which his minor colleagues insisted on in bar to any alteration of the second. He states:—

" I was assisted by the advice of three of my col-
" leagues—Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham,
" and Lord Duncannon; and, with their co-opera-
" tion, the first Reform Bill was submitted to the
" Cabinet and to the Sovereign. Of that measure
" I shall say no more than that, *if it was not en-*
" *tirely perfect, it was, at the same time, free from*
" *many of those imperfections which attended he*
" *passing of the second Reform Bill,*—and which,
" from accidental circumstances, it was impossible
" to guard against. I allude, in particular, to the
" 50*l.* tenant's clause, which was forced upon the
" supporters of the Bill by the then Tory House
" of Commons, and afterwards inserted in the se-
" cond measure, although contrary to the principles
" on which the first was framed; or, at least, upon
" which I framed it—namely, that *independence*
" *should be the security for a vote, and that, no mat-*
" *ter how small the property was, provided the voter*

"could exercise an independent suffrage, he should "be entitled to vote for his representative. It is "needless for me to tell you that circumstances to "which I cannot, and dare not, further allude, pre- "vented my attending, in my place in Parliament "during the discussion of the first measure, and "from having any thing to do with the formation "of the second. When it did come before the "House of Lords, I supported it to the best of my "ability, knowing that, with all its imperfections "on its head, it was one of the greatest charters of "public liberty, and one of the greatest renova- "tions of the constitution that any government "ever staked its existence upon, or the two Houses "of Parliament ever ventured to pass into a law. "*I know that much remains to be done; many im-* "*perfections to be remedied; especially with regard* "*to rating.—If we find that the non-payment of* "*rates should tend to disqualify those who have the* "*right of voting, that part of the measure should* "*be altered and amended.* Also, with regard to re- "gistration and the expense of elections; these are "points which require to be reconsidered, and with "respect to which you have nothing to do but to "instruct your representatives to attend to them, "and they must be carried. And here allow me "to observe, that, in these days, we must not blame "individuals, or ministers, if they have not carried "the principles of that Bill into execution. The "power rests with yourselves now to instruct your

"representatives to carry any measures upon which "you, the respectability and intelligence of the "country, have set your hearts, and they will be "inevitably carried."

We will not so much wrong the understanding of our readers as to characterise sentiments which they will know how to value. The best commendation is the glow of satisfaction with which the above passage has been read. It has given gladness to many eyes, and made many a generous heart beat the quicker.

What follows is yet more important and more valuable, for it goes to the root of the matter:—

"Mr Rippon has alluded to the present state of "public affairs, as being one of a serious descrip- "tion; and I confess I am much inclined to agree "with him in that opinion. I believe and admit "that a spirit of restless discontent is abroad, which "requires great prudence, great skill, great discre- "tion, and statesmanship, to allay. But *my opi- "nion is, that the best mode of allaying it—the "only mode of allaying it—is for the crown and the "government to go cordially along with the people.* "(Loud and long-continued cheers.) I know of "nothing that the intelligence of the country—and "when I speak of the people I speak not of any thing "but the intelligence and education; *not the pro- "perty, but the intelligence* and education of the "country—I say I know of nothing which the intel- "ligence of the country has set its heart upon, and

"which it ought to possess, that it will not eventually "obtain. I therefore say it is the duty of a wise "statesman to examine the objects the people have "in view, and what they are determined to obtain; "and when he is satisfied of their justice he should "not wait to be forced into the adoption of such "measures; he should not do it upon expediency "or compulsion, but grant it freely and cordially; "for, believe me, that the boon granted upon com- "pulsion, however the object may be obtained, "loses half its grace, and very often all its value."

Of all the sources of satisfaction in this noble speech, the most prized by us is the proposition that NOT PROPERTY, BUT INTELLIGENCE should be of dominant influence. This principle is asserted in the teeth of the Conservative slang, both Whig and Tory, claiming for wealth an overbearing power in the electoral system. An organ of the Ministry opposed the Ballot, indeed, expressly because it would deliver the electors from the dictation of persons of property. There is no word more improperly used (we must observe by the way) than this word *property*. By it is commonly meant large fortune; but the man who, by honest industry, has earned his few hundreds, is, by his hardly earned possession, better disposed for good citizenship than the inheritor of as many thousands, who has known no other state of fortune. For our own parts, we would extend the signification of the word property to possessions of any kind—ay, to the workman's tools

to the hammery the file, the spade; but so long as it is used in the insolent sense of large fortune, Lord Durham's principle is just, that intelligence should have the ascendancy. This doctrine must, however, be wormwood to the Grey Ministry; but it was obviously stated, not in the spirit of hostility to any, but of truth and justice to *all*, for Lord Durham is the eloquent apologist and defender of the existing Government.

MR MACAULAY'S DEFENCE OF THE GREY MINISTRY.

THE point of war which the trumpeter blows indicates the enemy's movements. What matters it to us the motives for which the man puffs out his cheeks, our business is with the note he sounds, not with the conditions of his appointment.

For a trumpeter nature seems to have fashioned Mr Macaulay, and fortunate is the Ministry in having one of such lungs and cheeks in its band. Yet he is not without a touch of modesty, which detracts from the completeness of his performance. For example: neither he nor Lord Morpeth could appear in the uniform of the Grey Ministry without protesting they were not ashamed. "We can hold

up our heads," cried they, at the Leeds dinner—"we can look you in the face." Wonderful! Does real confidence prompt this language? When one honest man meets another, does he say, "I am not ashamed to see you, I can hold up my head?" To such an address the answer would surely be, "Why, what have you been doing? in what doubtful transaction have you been concerned?"

Lord Morpeth, on presenting himself to his friends at Leeds, said, on the part of himself and Mr Macaulay, "We come before you with our head erect (one head to the plural bodies) and our glance steady."

Mr Macaulay had previously uttered the same boast, so significant of the misgivings of conscience! "I know that some Members of Parliament, and "gentlemen whom I highly respect, on meeting their "constituents after the late eventful session, have "thought it necessary to come before them with "the tone of humility, and the language of self-"defence. I have no such language to hold. I "come before you, gentlemen, to assume the port "and to use the language of a man who has at "least meant and endeavoured well."

It is a great happiness when the good which a man means for the world lies in the course of his own fortunes. Enviable is he whose aim for the public benefit is steadily in the line of his own advantage. When the important 147th clause of the Irish Church Bill was struck out (the clause decla-

ratory of the right of Parliament to dispose of the fund accruing from the sale of perpetuities) Mr Macaulay intimated that if the Ministry had not given up that point he could not have supported them. What an enviable man did he appear at that moment! His duty, which might have been so stern if the Ministry had not been so wise, was like a sour fruit in a sweet syrup—it fixed him peremptorily to the opinions that happened to concur with place. It is pleasant to avow the sacrifices which an independent judgment would have prompted when no sacrifice is called for; and when the sense of right and the sweets of office are in the blandest harmony. Though but a subaltern, Mr Macaulay had the honesty and the hardihood to say, "Had not the generals resolved on the retreat I would have mutinied." To the fugitive mind how delightful must it be to run away with a sense of imperative duty!

Mr Macaulay, before he sounds the praises of the Ministry, reminds his friends in the Cabinet, and the public in general, that he is not a Minister, which probably is the only fault he finds in the Ministry. He says:—

"I am not one of those who are strictly called "his Majesty's Ministers, yet I am nearly enough "connected with them to be able to say that I par-"ticipate with their feelings, and thank you in their "name. I drink this toast, because, in common "with all Englishmen, I feel the deepest gratitude

"to them for the great services rendered to their "country—great services in the passing of the Re- "form Bill, and great services subsequently, by "means of the Reform Bill."

"I am not the rose" (said the Persian poet, with eloquent modesty), "but I have lived near the rose."

We proceed to notice the principal topics of Mr Macaulay's speech, in the order in which they occur. He begins with the hackhied plea, excitement and depression, wild hopes and consequent disappointment:—

"Parliament met, and we had to deal with ex- "pectations which no Minister, not gifted with "supernatural power, who did not possess the rod "of Moses, who could not give to the people "quails, and drink, and manna, without any exer- "tion on their part, could, by any possibility, "satisfy."

As they had not the rod of Moses, for a succedaneum they instantly provided themselves with another rod, and it was the rod of tyranny, the Coercion Act for Ireland. As they could not give quails and manna, they took away the securities for liberty from a whole people. The dissatisfaction at this gracious first step of a Reformed Parliament was, forsooth, the disappointment of highly-wrought expectation. If we unreasonably expect our host to feed us with quails, and, instead of that treat, he cuts our throats with the carving knife, is there no-

thing more in the matter than the balk of sanguine hopes?

The next topic is, in itself, of little moment, but the treatment of it shows the hardihood of the Ministerial advocate in assertion. Upon the opposition of the Radicals to the re-election of Mr Manners Sutton, Mr Macaulay observes, "the business of a Speaker is nothing but impartiality. . . . No man would have ventured to say that the Speaker was partial in the discharge of his duties." Ministers themselves, we reply, loudly complained, upon the dissolution in 1831, that the Speaker was partial in the discharge of his duty, and it is notorious that Lord Althorp desired the election of Mr Abercrombie. Mr Macaulay says, that by proposing Mr Sutton, Ministers secured the best man and saved 4,000*l.* a-year. Yet they would gladly have defeated his election at Cambridge, and thus lost the services of the best of all possible Speakers, and also the opportunity for the saving. Strange it was that, deeming Mr Manners Sutton's merit as Speaker so transcendent, they did not interest themselves for his return to the House. The truth is, that they voted him into the Chair because they did not dare oppose him, apprehending defeat (without reason, we believe) from a factious coalition of the Radicals with the Tories.

The rescinded resolution on the Malt Tax comes next:—

"It is said that the Reformed House of Com-

"mons showed most disgraceful inconsistency, "because, on one evening, they voted for taking "this tax away, and then, on reconsideration, "voted for its continuance."

The disgust was not at the inconsistency of the House, but at the conduct of Lord Althorp, who, having promised to abide by the resolution, violated and denied his pledge. Lord Althorp was, as usual in such cases, *misunderstood*.

We now come to a very important subject—the Corn Laws. In a vast number of words, Mr Macaulay intimates that nothing is to be done or to be attempted. He says:—

"My theory differs very little from that of Lord "Fitzwilliam and Mr Whitmore; but I say that "there is this distinction betweeen the Corn Laws "and most other abuses that are oppressive in our "institutions—that most of those abuses evidently "exist solely for the benefit of the Oligarchy, and "are opposed to the general sense of the people. "Unhappily, as to the Corn Laws, though this "may be the true state of the case, yet, if we "examine what is the state of parties, we shall "find that there is one great section of the people "against another."

Having adverted to the opposition which any good measure would encounter in the interested House of Landowners, backed as the Lords would be by a portion of the country, Mr Macaulay concludes:—

"I believe we have the truth and reason of the case on our side; I believe it is possible in time to enlighten the agricultural interest, and by free discussion, and the inculcation of sound principles, they may be brought round to as complete an agreement with you on the subject of the Corn Laws as they have been on the subject of the Reform Bill. This I say for the purpose of explaining my past, and what may possibly be, my future conduct. I hold the Corn Laws to be one of the greatest possible evils. But I do not think the public mind ripe for putting this question on a sound footing. It would be towns against country—a certain victory for the agriculturists in the House of Lords—a doubtful contest at a general election—and I will not say what would be the effect of violence. It is therefore important to disseminate in every way sound information, in order that this great question may soon be ripe for a satisfactory decision; and I can most sincerely assure you, that nothing would give me greater pleasure than to make any personal sacrifice which would tend to the settlement of this question. But if the only result is to be that we, with great difficulty, get through the Commons a Bill which is to be defeated in the Lords, I am doubtful whether it would be desirable immediately to push this question to a decision."

All this, rendered into plain words, signifies,

"We will attempt nothing: having the fear of "the Lords or the perdition of our places, before "our eyes."

How is success against interest and prejudice ever attained but through the exhaustion of defeats? The cause of truth and justice rises stronger after every overthrow. Was Reform carried by the folding of hands, and a hope that boroughmongers would see the error of their ways? Was not motion made after motion, and opinion invigorated by the agitation of the question which accompanied every defeat? Who then said, with the man of sloth, "There lurks a lion in the way." No, the first step of Reform was the basis of the Whig power, and therefore the Whig party, who now faint at obstacles, battled for it as the soldier for the sack of a town. When (*clarus ob id factum*) the Whig is exhorted to the same enterprise (*ibit eò qui zonam perdidit*,) let him go who has nothing to lose, he would say, if he spoke with the frankness, as much as in the spirit, of Horace's adventurer.

Mr Macaulay is opposed to triennial Parliaments, because they would be in effect biennial, and general elections (he affirms) engender animosity and bitterness. The obvious answer to this is, that frequency abates excitement, and conduces to more sober exercise of the judgment. But Mr Macaulay has a test for all measures, the virtue of which we are not prepared to recognize; he tries the fitness of things by the manner in which they

would affect himself. On the question of the Corn Laws, he asks,—"Should I be returned for Essex?" As to frequent elections, he says,—

"If these were to commence just after they "have ceased, if the canvass of one election were "to *join on to the festivities* of the last, my "opinion is, that that excitement would be felt "as intolerable by the most respectable part of "the community. They would decline to per-"form the part of Committee-men. *Could I "expect my friends to take again so soon the part "they did in the last election?*"

We think he should not; not because of the trouble, but of another consideration which will never occur to so modest a person as Mr Macaulay. The *festivities*, which the speaker at a dinner table desires to guard against interruption, would, we admit, fall into disuse with frequent elections; and well pleased should we be to see the duty of delivering the suffrage discharged in the grave business-like way of a jury giving a verdict in a court of justice. Mr Macaulay, in conclusion, proposes quinquennial Parliaments.

Upon the Ballot he thus declares his opinions:—

"I hold the Ballot to be a satisfactory and com-"plete security against one great evil—intimida-"tion; and it is not merely a complete security, "but it is the only legal security you can devise "against intimidation. For I hold that you can-"not have any sufficient punishment for persons

"who intimidate others, without violating the most "sacred rights of property. If you were once to "punish a man for turning another out of his "house, you violate that great principle which "allows that every man should do what he will "with his own. Here arises the difficulty of "dealing with the question legally; two persons "have rights, each perfectly clear; the landlord "says—'This messuage is mine—so go out of it; "I will do as I please with my own.' The tenant, "on the other hand, says—'My vote is my own, "and have not I a right to vote as I like?' "Therefore, there are no legal means of pre-"venting intimidation but by the Ballot, which "would secure the secrecy of the vote. But "when I say I hold it to be the only legal security "against intimidation, the question still remains, "whether there may not be securities against "intimidation which are not legal? I am inclined "to hope there may. I am inclined to hope that, "in a sound state of public opinion, and in the "strength of public opinion, we might find a per-"fectly sufficient remedy for this evil."

He then argues that tyrants will, in time, be ashamed of intimidation—a brilliant thought—like that of Sir Abel Handy, the great contriver in the comedy, who, when his house is in flames, runs over his various infallible means of extinguishing fire, and concludes, "A lucky idea strikes me—perhaps it may go out of itself."

' Judges of old, Mr Macaulay argues,' used to intimidate jurors, and the public judgment has shamed them out of the practice; therefore, as twelve men in high and conspicuous station have thus been controlled and reformed by public opinion, twelve thousand in the crowd, and a crowd in themselves, will be corrected by the same influence! *Defendit numerus*—and all these petty tyrants have their petty circles fencing them in against public opinion, in which their tyrannies are countenanced.

When Lord John Russell found his election endangered by the intimidation practised by the Tories, he became convert to the Ballot; Mr Macaulay also plainly intimates that such a power must not be permitted to the Tories. He does not say, there shall be no intimidation—that would be inconvenient at Chatham and certain Whig and Government boroughs—but Tories shall not be allowed to practise it:—

"This I say, without scruple or hesitation, *that* "*if that party which opposed the Reform Bill is* "*resolved to maintain any longer the practice of* "*intimidation, the voters must be protected*, and if "the Ballot should be necessary for that purpose, "the Ballot shall have my most ardent support."

If Tories then persist in the malpractice, the Ballot is to be instituted, but if Tories, alarmed at the threat, desist, and Whigs only exercise the tyranny, why then it will be enough to hope that

they will come to be ashamed of themselves. Tie the hands of the Tories if they play the tyrant; but against the Whig, "Fie! you naughty man!" will be a sufficient remedy.

To the *deed-chanting* of Mr Macaulay the same remark applies which we made on the Ministerial Manifesto, that the merit of doing the things boasted must consist in the manner of doing them, as done in some way they must have been by any Government. The China trade, for example, must have been opened; the Duke of Wellington had notified his intention of opening it, but whether he would have ventured, in the face of a powerful Whig opposition, to saddle India with two new Bishoprics, is more than doubtful. Mr Macaulay repeats the idle excuse, that when India had only one Bishop frequent inconvenience arose from the death or absence of the single functionary. What was the case before a Bishop of India was created? But he is here excellently answered by Mr Baines, of Leeds, who manfully said:—

"On this point I hope I may be allowed to say, "that I am one of those who think, that in forming "or modifying a Government in a heathen country, "the inconvenience and the danger to be appre- "hended is not from the absence of Bishops, but "from their presence.

* * * *

"Religion is sufficiently powerful to support "itself [cheers], when left to its own free opera-

"tion, without being bolstered up by hierarchies, "which are as foreign to its true dignity as they "are to its original simplicity [loud cheers]. I "should, therefore, have been glad, if it had been "said to the Ministers of religion generally, and "without any preference or distinction, 'Here are "a hundred millions of idolaters; enlighten their "minds in the principles of the Christian religion; "show them its nature, beauty, and excellence; "convince them of its importance to their present "and future happiness, but do not any of you "expect exclusive privileges, which paralyse in-"stead of promoting the spread of the Christian "system.'"

Do the minds of men crave more Bishops?—"Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia."—The people of the British empire are drugged with Bishops, and as for the interruption of the Episcopal functions, from death or any other cause, we ask, what in England would be the effect were the whole Bench to cease from troubling? were we suddenly to find ourselves without a Bishop, or the prospect of the speedy appointment of one? If England would not be sensible of misfortune in such an event, India, we suspect, could bear it better than two new Bishops. Once upon a time it was customary, in the Canton of Berne, to keep a Bear at the public expense, the people having been instructed that a Bear was essential to morals and manners and the prosperity of the State. It happened

that the Bear sickened and died so suddenly, that, as in the case of the single Indian Bishop; a successor was not forthcoming to fill his place. While the community was Bearless, and great inconvenience ought, according to the constitution, to have been felt, it was observed that the sun shone, and the corn grew, order survived, and all things prospered just as if the Bear was alive and gorging the substance of the people. Seeing this, the people of Berne resolved to keep no more Bears, as things went on as well without as with such voracious creatures. Now had Berne been blessed with a Grey Government, instead of disusing Bears two new Bearships would have been created, as an ursine Macaulay would have argued, "to obviate "the unbearable inconveniencies which arose from "the Bearless state of society upon elopement or "death of the single Bear."

As for the vaunted doings of the Ministry, it is unnecessary for us to weigh them against the valuation of Mr Macaulay. It is not to be denied that they have despatched the important questions recited, but have they despatched them as a skilful workman despatches his business, or as Banquo was despatched, "with twenty trenched gashes, the least a death to nature?" Thurtell talked of having *settled* Mr Weare in much the same sense in which Ministers must be understood to have *settled* important popular objects.

Mr Macaulay shows the credit page of the Mi-

nisterial account, but not a figure on the debtor side. He catalogues the things furnished with the eloquence of a Robins, but he says not a word of the prices. He talks of the saving of three millions a-year, but breathes not a syllable of the coming burthens for the twenty millions to the slave owners, to which may be added a million voted under false pretences to the sinecure parsons in Ireland. Mr Macaulay talks at great length of the injustice of depriving the planters of their property in man-flesh without compensation, but we do not observe that he says one word of the justness of the valuation, which is the point really in question.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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